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RHYS, PRINCE OF SOUTH WALES .

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THE
ITINERARY
OF
ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN
THROUGH WALES,
A. D. MCLXXXVIII.

BY
GIRALDUS DE BARRI;

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, AND ILLUSTRATED WITH VIEWS,
ANNOTATIONS, AND A LIFE OF GIRALDUS,

BY
SIR RICHARD COLT HOARE, BART.
F. R. S. F. A. S.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

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BOOK II.

P R E F A C E.

SINCE, therefore, Saint David's is the head, and in times past was the metropolitan city of Wales, though now, alas! retaining more of the *name* than of the *omen*,^a yet I have not forborn to weep over

^a Giraldus, ever glad to *pun* upon words, here opposes the word *nomen* to *omen*. ‘*Plus nominis habens quàm ominis.*’ Being a man of extraordinary reading, and, conversant with the works of the Greek and Roman writers, he may have perhaps borrowed this expression from Plautus, who in his play of *Persa*, has introduced a young female, offered for sale to a pander of the name of Dordalus, who, in company with a knavish servant called Toxilus, is introduced as putting questions to the damsel. The dialogue is as follows: (Dordalus) *Quid nomen tibi est?* (Virgo) *Lucridi nomen in patriâ fuit.* (Toxilus) *Nomen atque omen quantivis est pretii, &c.* (Dordalus) *Si te emam, mihi quoque Lucridem confido fore te.* Plautus Delphini, Tom. II. p. 277. Actus IV. Scena IV.

The exclamation of Toxilus is obviously grounded upon a double meaning, assigned to the name of *Lucris* (quasi à *lucro*), from whence he takes occasion to prognosticate a good *omen* to the purchaser. How valuable is a *name* and an *omen*! or how valuable is that *name* which carries its *good omen* with it! and the pander's reply plainly shews that he understood it in that light. A similar superstition still prevails in some parts of Italy, and in other places on the Continent. I mean, the custom of giving to infants, as their baptismal name, the name of the saint whose festival is the nearest to the birthday of the child; from which name, if it is capable of a fortunate or favourable translation, the good fortune or disposition of the child is inferred. This day is also, in all catholic countries, more honoured in the observance than the birthday,

PREFACE.

the obsequies of our ancient and undoubted mother, to follow the mournful hearse, and to deplore with tearful sighs the ashes of our half-buried matron.

I shall, therefore, endeavour briefly to declare to you, in what manner, from whence, and from what period the pall was first brought to Saint David's, and how it was taken away; how many prelates were invested with the pall; and how many were despoiled thereof, together with their respective names to this present day.

particularly in Germany, where it is called the Names-day, and special prayers are offered up to the saint, and wishes of *good omen* to the parents, with other superstitious observations.



Engraved. March, 1851. by William Miller. A new and complete edition.

ITINERARY

THROUGH

W A L E S.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

SAINT DAVID'S.

WE are informed by the British historians, that Dubricius Archbishop of Caerleon, sensible of the infirmities of age, or rather being desirous of leading a life of contemplation, resigned his honours to David, who is said to have been uncle to King Arthur; and by his interest the see was translated to Menevia, although Caerleon, as we have observed in the first book, was much better adapted for the episcopal see. For Menevia is situated in a most remote corner of land upon the Irish ocean, the soil stoney and barren, neither clothed with woods, distinguished by rivers, nor adorned by

meadows, ever exposed to the winds and tempests, and continually subject to the hostile attacks of the Flemings on one side, and of the Welsh on the other. For the holy men who settled here chose purposely such a retired habitation, that by avoiding the noise of the world, and preferring an heremital to a pastoral life, they might more freely provide for "that part which shall not be taken away:" for David was remarkable for his sanctity and religion, as the history of his life will testify. Amongst the many miracles recorded of him, three appear to me the most worthy of admiration: his origin and conception; his pre-election thirty years before his birth; and what exceeds all, the sudden rising of the ground, at Brevy, under his feet while preaching, to the great astonishment of all the beholders.

Since the time of David, twenty-five archbishops presided over the see of Menevia, whose names are here subjoined: David, Cenaus, Eliud, who was also called Teilaus, Ceneu, Morwal, Hærunen, Elwaed, Gurnuen, Lendivord, Gorwysc, Gogan, Cledauc, Anian, Elvoed, Ethelmen, Elanc, Malscoed, Sadermen, Catellus, Sulhaithnai, Nonis, Etwal, Asser, Arthuael, Sampson. In the time of Sampson, the pall was translated from Menevia in the following manner: a disorder, called the yellow plague, and by the physicians, the ictiac passion, of which the people died in great numbers, raged throughout Wales, at the time when Sampson held the archiepiscopal see. Though a holy man, and fearless of death, he was prevailed upon, by the earnest intreaties of his people, to go on board a vessel, which was wafted, by a south wind, to Britannia Armorica,' where he and his attendants were safely landed. The

' Armorica is derived from the Celtic words Ar and Mon, which signify on or

see of Dol being at that time vacant, he was immediately elected bishop: hence it came to pass, that on account of the pall² which Sampson had brought thither with him, the succeeding bishops, even to our times, always retained it. But during the presidency of the Archbishop of Tours, this adventitious dignity ceased; yet our countrymen through indolence or poverty, or rather owing to the arrival of the English into the island, and the frequent hostilities committed against them by the Saxons, lost their archiepiscopal honours; but until the entire subjugation of Wales by King Henry the First, the Welsh bishops were always consecrated by the Bishop of Saint David's; and he was consecrated by his suffragans, without any profession or submission being made to any other church.

From the time of Sampson, to that of King Henry the First, nineteen bishops presided over this see: Ruelin, Rodherch, Elguin, Lunuerd, Nergu, Sulhidir, Eneuris, Morgeneu, who was the first Bishop of Saint David's who ate flesh, and was there killed by pirates; he appeared to a certain bishop in Ireland on the night of

near the sea, and so called to distinguish it from the more inland parts of Britany. The maritime cities of Gaul were called "*Armoricæ civitates—Universis civitatibus quæ oceanum attingunt, quæque Gallorum consuetudine Armoricæ appellantur.*" *Cæsar Comment. lib. vii.*

² The archiepiscopal pall was at first truly a mantle or upper vesture (as the word imports) worn by the Roman emperors, and by Constantine permitted as an honour to the Pope, and by him communicated to the other patriarchs; and in this form it continues in the Eastern parts; whereas at Rome, and in the west, this title is given to a small portion, as appendix to the first pallium, being (according to the description given of it by Pope Innocent the Third) a certain wreath (as it were the collar of an order) of about three fingers breadth encompassing the neck; from which descend two labels, before and behind. On the circle are inwoven four purple crosses, and on each label, one; and it is fastened to the upper garment with three golden pins. *Cressy, p. 972.*

his death, shewing his wounds, and saying, " Because I ate meat, I am made meat." Nathan, Jevan (who was bishop only one night), Argustel, Morgeneuth, Ervin, Tramerin, Joseph, Bleithud, Sulghein, Abraham, Wilfred. Since the subjugation of Wales to the present time, three only have held the see: in the reign of King Henry the First, Bernard; in the reign of King Stephen, David the Second; and in the reign of King Henry the Second, Peter, a monk of the order of Clugny; who all, by the king's mandate, were consecrated at Canterbury: as also Geoffrey, prior and canon of Lanthoni, who succeeded them in the reign of King John, and was preferred to this see by the interest of Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards consecrated by him. We do not hear that either before or after that subjugation, any archbishop of Canterbury ever entered the borders of Wales, except Baldwin, a monk of the Cistercian order, Abbot of Ford,³ and afterwards Bishop of Worcester, who traversed that rough, inaccessible, and remote country with a laudable devotion for the service of the cross; and as a token of investiture, celebrated mass in all the cathedral churches; so that till lately the see of Saint David's owed no subjection to that of Canterbury, as may be seen in Bede's English History, who says, " That Augustin, Bishop of the Angles, after the conversion of King Ethelfred, and his people, called together the British Bishops of Wales on the confines of the West Saxons, as legate of the apostolic see. When the seven bishops⁴ appeared,

³ Ford Abbey was situated in the parish of Thorncomb, Devon, and near the confines of the county of Somerset. In the year 1136, Richard Fitz-Baldwin de Brien, Baron of Okehampton, and Sheriff of Devonshire, brought an abbot and twelve Cistercian monks to a place called Brightley in Devonshire, from whence they were removed to Ford, in the year 1141, by Adelia, sister and heiress to the aforesaid Richard.

⁴ The Bishops of Hereford, Worcester, Landaf, Bangor, Saint Asaph, Llanpadarn, and Margan, or Glamorgan.

Augustin sitting in his chair, with Roman pride, did not rise up at their entrance. Observing his haughtiness (after the example of a holy anachorite of their nation), they immediately returned, and treated him and his statutes with contempt, publicly proclaiming that they would not acknowledge him for their archbishop; alleging, that if he now refused to rise up to us, how much more will he hold us in contempt, if we submit to be subject to him?" That there were at that time seven bishops in Wales, and now only four, may be thus accounted for; because perhaps there were formerly more cathedral churches in Wales, than there are at present, or the extent of Wales might have been greater. Amongst so many bishops thus deprived of their dignity, Bernard, the first French Bishop of Saint David's, alone defended the rights of his church in a public manner; and after many expensive and vexatious appeals to the court of Rome, would not have reclaimed them in vain, if false witnesses had not publicly appeared at the Council of Rheims, before Pope Eugenius, and testified that he had made profession and submission to the see of Canterbury. Supported by three auxiliaries, the favour and intimacy of King Henry, a time of peace and consequent plenty, he boldly hazarded the trial of so great a cause, and so confident was he of his just right, that he sometimes caused the cross to be carried before him during his journey through Wales.

Bernard, however commendable in some particulars, was remarkable for his insufferable pride and ambition. For as soon as he became courtier and a creature of the king's, panting after English riches by means of translation, (a malady under which all the English sent hither seem to labour), he alienated many of the lands of his church without either advantage or profit, and disposed of

others so indiscreetly and improvidently, that when ten carrucates of land were required for military purposes, he would with a liberal hand give twenty or thirty; and of the canonical rites and ordinances which he had miserably and unhappily instituted at Saint David's, he would hardly make use of one, at most only two or three. With respect to the two sees of Canterbury and Saint David's, I will briefly explain my opinion of their present state. On one side, you will see royal favour, affluence of riches, numerous and opulent suffragan bishops, great abundance of learned men, and well skilled in the laws: on the other side a deficiency of all these things, and a total want of justice: on which account the recovery of its ancient rights will not easily be effected, but by means of those great changes and vicissitudes which kingdoms experience from various and unexpected events.

The spot where the church of Saint David's is built, and first founded in honour of the Apostle Saint Andrew, is called the Vale of Roses; which ought rather to be named the Vale of Marble, since it abounds with one, and by no means with the other. The river Alun, a muddy and unproductive rivulet,^s bounding the church-yard on the northern side, flows under a marble stone, called Lechlavar, which has been polished by continual treading of passengers; concerning whose name, size, and quality, we have treated in our Prophetic History. Henry the Second, on his return from Ireland, is said to have passed over this stone, before he entered the church of Saint Andrew and Saint David. Having left the following garri-sons in Ireland, namely, Hugh de Lacy (to whom he had given

^s This little brook does not, in modern times, deserve the title here given to it by Giraldus, for it produces trout of a most delicious flavour.

Meath) in Dublin, with twenty soldiers; Stephen and Maurice Girald with other twenty men; Humphrey de Bohun, Robert son of Bernard, and Hugh de Grandeville, at Waterford, with forty men; and William the son of Adelm, and Philip de Breusa, at Weixford with twenty men; on the second day of Easter, the king embarked at sunrise on board a vessel in the outward port of Weixford, and with a south wind, landed about noon in the harbour of Menevia. Proceeding towards the shrine of Saint David, habited like a pilgrim, and leaning on a staff, he met at the white gate a procession of the canons of the church coming forth to receive him with due honour and reverence. As the procession solemnly moved along, a Welsh woman threw herself at the king's feet, and made a complaint against the bishop of the place, which was explained to the king by an interpreter; the woman, immediate attention not being paid to her petition, with violent gesticulation, and a loud and impertinent voice, exclaimed, repeatedly, "Vindicate us this day, Lechlavar! revenge us and the nation in this man!" On being chidden and driven away by those who understood the British language, she more vehemently and forcibly vociferated in the like manner, alluding to the vulgar fiction and proverb of Merlin, "That a king of England, and conqueror of Ireland, should be wounded in that country by a man with a red hand, and die upon Lechlavar on his return through Menevia." This was the name of that stone, which serves as a bridge over the river Alun, that divides the cemetery from the northern side of the church; it is a beautiful piece of marble, polished by the feet of passengers, ten feet in length, six in breadth, and one in thickness. Lechlavar signifies in the British language a talking stone.*

* Lechlavar, so called from the words in Welsh, Llêc, a stone, and Llavar, loquacious.

There was an ancient tradition respecting this stone, that at a time when a corpse was carried over it, for interment, it broke forth into speech, and by the effort cracked in the middle, which fissure is still visible; and on account of this barbarous and ancient superstition, the corpses are no longer brought over it. The king, who had heard the prophecy, approaching the stone, stopped for a short time at the foot of it, and looking earnestly at it, boldly passed over; then turning round, and looking towards the stone, thus indignantly inveighed against the prophet: "Who will hereafter give credit to the lying Merlin?" A person standing by, and observing what had passed, in order to vindicate the injury done to the prophet, replied, with a loud voice, "Thou art not that king by whom Ireland is to be conquered, or of whom Merlin prophesied!" The king then entering the church founded in honour of Saint Andrew and Saint David, devoutly offered up his prayers, and heard mass performed by a chaplain, whom alone out of so large a body of priests, Providence seems to have kept fasting till that hour, for this very purpose. Having supped at Saint David's, the king departed for the castle of Haverford, distant about twelve miles. It appears very remarkable to me, that in our days, when David the Second presided over the see, the river should have flowed with wine: and that the spring called Pistyll Dewi,⁷ or the Pipe of David, from its flowing through a pipe into the eastern side of the church-yard, should have ran

⁷ The miraculous origin of this spring has been attributed to Saint David, and is thus related in his life written by Giraldus. "It happened on a certain day, when the brethren of the church were assembled together, that a general complaint was made of the want of clean and pure water for the performance of mass and other religious solemnities; for the river Alun, which flows through the vale, was muddy, and often times defective during the summer season. On hearing which, the holy father David

with milk. The birds also of that place, called jack-daws, from being so long unmolested by the clergy of the church, were grown so tame and domesticated as not to be afraid of persons dressed in black. In clear weather the mountains of Ireland are visible from hence, and the passage over the Irish sea may be performed in one short day; on which account William, the son of William the Bastard, and the second of the Norman kings in England, who was called Rufus, and who had penetrated far into Wales, on seeing Ireland from these rocks, is reported to have said, "I will summon hither all the ships of my realm, and with them make a bridge to attack that country." Which speech being related to Murchard Prince of Leinster, he paused awhile, and answered, "Did the king add to this mighty threat, If God please?" And being informed that he had made no mention of God in his speech, rejoicing in such a prognostic, he replied, "since that man trusts in human, not divine power, I fear not his coming."

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER I.

"*Hic etenim angulus est suprà Hibernicum mare remotissimus; terra saxosa, sterilis, et infœcunda; nec sylvis vestita, nec fluminibus distincta nec pratis ornata; ventis solum et procellis semper*

went immediately to the cemetery adjoining the church, and having offered up many long and devout prayers to the Almighty, a spring of the most transparent water suddenly burst forth on the spot, which was fully sufficient for all religious purposes, and continues to flow to this present day.

exposita."—Such is the dreary and well-pictured account given by Giraldus of the local situation of this once celebrated ecclesiastical establishment ; and such, I fear, will every traveller find it on his approach to the wretched village of Saint David's, where misery and beggary stare him full in the face, and from whence the want of even tolerable accommodations has driven away many an inquisitive tourist and antiquarian. Although, in the language of the poet,

————— “ Menevia plorat
Curtatos mitræ titulos, et nomen inane
Semisepultæ urbis,”

yet hospitality has not deserted these mitred walls, and I should be much wanting in gratitude, were I not to acknowledge thus publicly the many acts of friendship and civility which I have experienced during two successive pilgrimages to the shrine of Saint David.

As from the forlorn and retired situation of the cathedral church of Saint David's, its ancient as well as modern history is but little known, I shall give some account of it, from its foundation to the present time ; with a short sketch of the life of its patron saint, and a series of its archbishops and bishops, from its first establishment to the period of this Itinerary. •

Saint David^a was son of Xantus, Prince of Cardiganshire, and

^a Dewi, son of Sandde ab Cedig ab Ceredig ab Cunedda, whose mother was Non, the daughter of Gynyr, of Caer Gawch in Pembrokeshire, was one of the most celebrated British saints, being the founder of several churches in Wales. There are four dedicated to him in Radnorshire ; two in Cardiganshire ; four in Pembrokeshire ; two in Caermarthenshire ; three in Brecknockshire ; one in Glamorgan ; and three in Monmouthshire ; and many more were dedicated to his name in aftertimes. In the middle of the sixth century he was Bishop of Caer Llion in Gwent, or Monmouthshire,

Non, daughter of Gynyr, of *Caer Gawch* in *Mynyw* (*Menevia*), a chieftain who lived about the middle of the fifth century, and having embraced a religious life, gave all his lands to support the church: Non was also one of the most distinguished female saints in Wales. He was brought up at place called in Welsh, *Henmeneu*, or *Old Menevia*, and in his early years was much devoted to literary pursuits, and displayed strong signs of a superior understanding and abilities. Being advanced to the honour of priesthood, he left his native country, and went to the Isle of Wight, where *Paulinus*, a disciple of *Saint Germanus*, had opened a school for the instruction

which was then considered as the metropolitan of the Welsh church. But, in consequence of his father-in-law's having given all his lands in *Pembrokeshire* to the church, and the former place being too much exposed to the incursions of the Saxons, *Dewi* removed the see to *Mynyw*, which afterwards was called *Ty Dewi*, the House of *David*, or *St. David's*, after his name. In the *Triads*, *Dewi*, *Padarn*, and *Teilo*, are denominated the three holy visitors of Britain; because they went about preaching the Christian faith to all, without accepting any kind of reward; but, on the contrary, expending their patrimonies in administering to the necessities of the poor. In the same records, *Dewi* is called the *Primate* of the Welsh Church, under the eldership of *Maelgwn*, and the sovereignty of *Arthur*, at the same time that *Bedwini* held similar functions in *Cornwall*, and *Cyndeyrn* in *Scotland*. He is also ranked with *Teilo* and *Catwg*, as one of the three canonized saints of Britain. In consequence of the romances of the middle ages, which created the seven champions of Christendom, *St. David* has been dignified with the title of the *Patron Saint* of Wales; but this rank, however, is hardly known among the people of the principality, being a title diffused among them from England in modern times. The writer of this account never heard of such a patron saint, nor of the leek as his symbol, until he became acquainted therewith in London. The wearing of the leek on *St. David's-day* originated, probably, from the custom on *Cymhortha*, or the neighbourly aid practised among farmers, which is of various kinds: in some districts of South Wales, all the neighbours of a small farmer, without means, appoint a day when they attend to plough his land, and the like; and at such a time it is the custom for each individual to bring his portion of leeks to be used in making pottage for the whole company; and they bring nothing else but the leeks in particular for the occasion. *Cambrian Biography*, p. 87.

of his countrymen: under him he studied for ten years, till Paulinus, admonished by an angel, sent David away to preach the word of God amongst the Britons; which he did with great effect, having gained many proselytes and founded many religious establishments both in England and Wales: he then returned to his native country, and settled himself in the Vale of Ros, collecting around him a numerous body of disciples and followers, who subscribed to the rules and orders of his new establishment. Amongst these were Teilo, Aidan, Madoc, Ismael, Paternus, and Kinot. He was afterwards, in the year 519, invited by Saint Dubricius to attend a national synod at Llandewi Brevi in Cardiganshire, where he preached so successfully against the doctrines of the Pelagians, that a miracle commemorated the holy ground on which he stood. At the conclusion of the synod, Dubricius, who at that time presided over the archiepiscopal see of Caerleon, being desirous of passing the remainder of his days in religious retirement, offered to resign his high office to David, who, by the unanimous request of all the bishops, clergy, and laity then present, was at last prevailed upon to accept it, but on condition that he should be allowed to translate the metropolitan see from the populous city of Caerleon to the more retired Vale of Menevia. He afterwards assembled another meeting, called the Synod of Victory, at which the whole body of the Welsh clergy met, confirmed the decrees of the former synod at Brevi, and added some new regulations for the benefit of the Church. From these two synods, all the churches of Cambria received their rules and ecclesiastical ordinances, which were also sanctioned by the authority of the Roman Church. The period of his death seems rather uncertain; some authors place it in the

year 544, others towards the end of that century. His character is thus delineated by our author Giraldus :

“ Cunctis autem Pater David, tanquam in speculâ positus eminentissimâ, vitæ speculum erat et exemplar. Instruebat subditos verbo, instruebat et exemplo ; efficacissimus ore prædicator, sed opere major. Erat enim audientibus doctrina, religiosis forma, egentibus vita, orphanis munimen, viduis fulcimen, pupillis pater, monachis regula, sæcularibus via ; omnibus omnia factus, ut omnia lucrifaceret Deo.”

He was (saith Giraldus) a mirror and pattern to all ; instructing all, both by word and example ; an excellent preacher in words, but more excellent in works ; he was a doctrine to all, a form to the religious, life to the poor, support to orphans, defence to widows ; father to the fatherless ; a rule to monks, and a model to teachers ; becoming all to all, to gain all to God.

Another ancient author has more particularly characterized the person of this saint : “ Vir erat amabilis valdè, vultu venustus, formâ præclarus, facundus, eloquens, et quatuor cubitarum staturâ erectus.

According to Godwin, Dubricius died A. D. 522, having resigned his archbishopric to David, who translated the see from Caerleon to Menevia. Authors (as I before observed) differ about the age of David, as likewise about the time of his first taking possession of his high office. Godwin affixes the period in the year 577

As there is some difference in the series of bishops given by Giraldus and Godwin, I shall annex the account of each.

GIRALDUS.

- 1 David.
- 2 Cenauc.
- 3 Eliud or Teilaus.
- 4 Ceneu.
- 5 Morwal.
- 6 Haerunen.
- 7 Elwaed.
- 8 Gurnuen.
- 9 Lendivord.
- 10 Gorwysc.
- 11 Gogan.
- 12 Cledauc.
- 13 Anian.
- 14 Euloed.
- 15 Ethelmen.
- 16 Elanc.
- 17 Malscoed.
- 18 Sadermen.
- 19 Catellus.
- 20 Sulhaithnai.
- 21 Nonis.
- 22 Etwal.
- 23 Asser.
- 24 Arthuael.
- 25 Sampson.
- 26 Ruelin.
- 27 Rodherch.

GODWIN.

- 1 David.
- 2 Eliud.
- 3 Theliaus.
- 4 Kenea.
- 5 Morvael.
- 6 Haernurier.
- 7 Eluaeth.
- 8 Gurnel.
- 9 Lendywyth.
- 10 Gorwist.
- 11 Gorgan.
- 12 Cledauc.
- 13 Eynaen.
- 14 Eludgeth.
- 15 Eldunen.
- 16 Elvaoth.
- 17 Maelschwyth.
- 18 Madeneu.
- 19 Catulus.
- 20 Sylvay.
- 21 Namis.
- 22 Sathveney.
- 23 Doythwal.
- 24 Asser.
- 25 Athuael.
- 26 Sampson.
- 27 Ruclinus.

GIRALDUS.

- 28 Elguin.
- 29 Lunuerd.
- 30 Nergu.
- 31 Sulhidir.
- 32 Eneuris.
- 33 Morgeneu.
- 34 Nathan.
- 35 Jevan.
- 36 Argustel.
- 37 Morgenueth.
- 38 Ervin.
- 39 Tramerin.
- 40 Joseph.
- 41 Bleithud.
- 42 Sulghein.
- 43 Abraham.
- 44 Wilfredus.
- 45 Bernardus.
- 46 David Secundus.
- 47 Petrus de Leia.
- 48 Galfridus.

GODWIN.

- 28 Rodheric.
- 29 Elguni.
- 30 Lunverd: al. Lywarch.
- 31 Nergu: al. Vergu.
- 32 Sulhidir: al. Sulhidw.
- 33 Eneuris: al. Everus.
- 34 Morgeneu.
- 35 Nathan.
- 36 Jevan.
- 37 Argustel
- 38 Morgenueth.
- 39 Ervin: al. Hernun.
- 40 Tramerin: al. Carmerin.
- 41 Joseph.
- 42 Bleithud.
- 43 Sulghiem.
- 44 Abraham.
- 45 Rithmarch.
- 46 Wilfridus.
- 47 Bernardus.
- 48 David Fitz Gerald.
- 49 Petrus de Leia.
- 50 Galfridus.

The *Annales Menevenses* throw some further light on the chronology of this see :

A. D. 832 Sadernuen Episcopus Menevensis moritur.

873 Novis Episcopus moritur.

909 Asser fit Episcopus.

944 Luvert Episcopus moritur.

945 Morcleis Episcopus moritur.

946 Eneuris Episcopus moritur.

1000 Morgeneu Episcopus occiditur.

1039 Herbin Episcopus moritur.

1061 Joseph Episcopus moritur.

1071 Bledud Episcopus moritur. Sulgenus Episcopatum accepit.

1076 Sulgenus Episcopatum deserit ; et Abraham accepit.

1078 Abraham Episcopus occiditur à gentilibus.

Sulgenus iterum Episcopatum accepit.

1088 Sulgenus Episcopus moritur.

1096 Rikemarth filius Sulien moritur.

1116 Wilfridus Episcopus moritur.

1127 Daniel filius Sulgeni moritur.

1149 Bernardus Episcopus moritur.

1176 David Episcopus moritur.

1199 Petrus Episcopus moritur.

1214 Galfridus Episcopus moritur.

1229 Gervasius Episcopus moritur.

1255 Thomas Wallensis moritur.

1280 Richard de Carreu moritur, et sepultus est in ecclesiâ Menevensi propè altare S. Crucis à parte australi.^b

^b The Welsh Chronicle differs in some slight degree from these Annals. It says

During the episcopacy of Lendivord, which Godwin places A. D. 810, and the *Annales Menevenses* A. D. 812, the church of Saint David's was burned by the West Saxons. From the time of David to that of Sampson, history has recorded little besides the names of the archbishops: during the presidency of the latter, seven suffragan bishoprics were annexed to the archbishopric of Saint David's, viz. Landaf, Bangor, Saint Asaph, Exeter, Bath, Hereford, and Fernes in Ireland; and, according to Hoveden, the following, viz. Landaf, Bangor, Saint Asaph, Worcester, Hereford, Chester, and Lhanpadarn; but I am inclined to think that neither of these lists is quite correct, but that the suffragan bishops were the same as those summoned to attend the synod at Worcester, A. D. 602, who are mentioned in the note of the annotator Dr. Powel, as Hereford, Landaf, Lhanpadarn, Bangor, Saint Asaph, Worcester, and Margan. During the archiepiscopacy of Sampson, a contagious and epidemical disease raged so violently throughout his diocese, that by the earnest entreaties of his clergy he was persuaded to remove with them into the country of the Armorican Britons; he settled at Dol in Normandy, where he was shortly afterwards promoted to the episcopacy of that city on the death of its former bishop: having brought over with him the archiepiscopal pall which he had worn at Menevia, he made use of the same in his episcopal functions at Dol, of which circumstance, his successors, the bishops at Dol, taking advantage, assumed to themselves the like honour of wearing a pall, and challenged an archiepiscopal jurisdiction and exemption from the power of their former metropolitan, the Archbishop of Tours:

that Everus, Bishop of Saint David's, died A. D. 944; that Morgeneu was killed by the Danes in 998: and that Hernun, a man both learned and godlie, died in 1038.

this they continued for many years, till the time of Pope Innocent the Third, A. D. 1198, notwithstanding the many protestations of the archbishops against this their usurped authority. During all this interval the see of Saint David's, though acknowledged the metropolis of Wales, was deprived of its pall; for which reason Pope Eugenius the Third, in the reign of King Henry the First, subjected it to the see of Canterbury, A. D. 1148; but notwithstanding this deprivation, the Welsh bishops still continued to receive their consecration from the head of the metropolitan church of Menevia, till the time of Bernard, the Norman bishop, who was chaplain to King Henry the First, and consecrated Bishop of Saint David's, in the year 1151. He is represented as having greatly injured and wasted the revenues of the church, and by the royal commands to have resigned the archiepiscopal rights of Menevia to the see of Canterbury.^c To Bernard the Norman succeeded David

^c This prelate appears, in more instances than one, to have been “*trans modestiam notabilis*.” The Annals of the Church of Landaf afford a very notable instance of his rapacity and injustice. It is there recorded, that, presuming upon his interest with the English court, he made a most unprincipled attack upon the revenues of that see, and having usurped an episcopal jurisdiction over the extensive territories of Gower, Cydwelly, Cantrehychan, Ystradwy, and Ewyas, which, from the time of Eleutherius, and since the coming of Austin the Monk, had appertained to the church of Landaf; without the smallest plea of justice, he attached them to his own diocese. Urban, the Bishop of Landaf, in vain remonstrated. The Pope, to whom he twice appealed, in vain enjoined a restitution; Norman politics completely triumphed, and the Menevian bishops to the present day enjoy the fruits of Bernard's peculation. About the same time the Bishop of Hereford, with the same injustice and the same impunity, detached the territory of Urchenfield from the poor plundered see of Landaf.^d

^d Quo defuncto (Wilfredo) successit ei Bernardus de transmarinis partibus oriundus, et primus ad hanc sedem regiâ potestate translatus; vir quidem curialis atque facetus et copiosè literatus. Bernardus iste, quamquam in multis commendabilis, humanæ tamen imperfectionis maculam non evasit: terras ecclesiæ suæ plurimas infructuosè penitus et inutiliter alienavit. Giraldus de Jure Menev. Ecclesiæ, p. 534.

Fitz-Gerald, called by our Author, Secundus, to distinguish him from the patron saint: he died in 1176.^e The vacant see was filled by Peter de Leia, a Cluniac monk, and Prior of Wenloch, who received the crusaders at his episcopal residence in Saint David's: he died A. D. 1199.^f Some historians have improperly named Giraldus as his successor: for, though elected bishop, he never was consecrated to the see; of which fact his own words give ample testimony—"Quartus his succedaneus fuit Galfridus Lanthoniensis prior et canonicus."

From the year 577 (at which period, according to Godwin, Saint David settled himself at Menevia), to the death of Peter de Leia in

^e Giraldus says, that a violent schism prevailed at the election of this bishop amongst the canons of the church of Saint David, who wished to elect a real Welshman (*purum Wallensem*), not one of mixed descent; and this wish might very naturally have arisen from the great injuries their church had sustained from his predecessor in the see, Bernard the Norman. Our author describes David as a man of a modest character, a contented turn of mind, and steadily attached to the interests of his church. "*Vir erat hic modestus, vir suâ sorte contentus; terras ecclesiæ suæ paucas et pauperulas sibi relictas diligenter excolere et instaurare curabat: de suo nempe vivere volens, non alieno, non rapinis, non exactionibus indebitis aut extortionibus, non exquisitis et excogitatis per Angliam et Walliam hospitationibus, indulgebat.*" Giraldus de Jure Menev. Ecclesiæ, p. 535.

^f The character of this bishop has been stigmatized by Giraldus for his short residence in Wales, the want of proper attention to his diocese, and the heavy taxes he imposed on his clergy; he was also accused, by Richard Fitz-Tancred, of transmitting the revenues of his bishopric, and all the money he could collect, into England. "*Primus hic etenim Episcoporum Menevensium nostri temporis qui per hospitia tam Anglicana quàm Wallensica jugi ferè discursu circuiendo et circumvagando cum scandalis notâ nævoque non modico famæ demigrationem incurrit. Primus hic quoque, qui quolibet ad minus anno tertio clericis suæ diocesis grave tallagiorum onus adjecit. Qui utinam tam integræ famæ fuisset et tam honestæ, tam sinceræ conscientiæ et tam serenæ, tantæque constantiæ in dictis et factis et tam maturæ, quàm monachus!*" Giraldus, *ibidem*, p. 538.

1199, six hundred and twenty-two years had elapsed, during which time the see had been filled by forty-nine archbishops and bishops. The cathedral dedicated to Saint Andrew and Saint David, having suffered greatly from the incursions of the Danes and other pirates, was pulled down by Peter de Leia, A. D. 1180, and re-edified: thus we are able to ascertain the precise æra at which the oldest part of the present building was erected. In the time of Jorwerth, A. D. 1220, the new tower of the church fell down, and in 1248, during the episcopacy of his successor, Anselm, a great part of the building was demolished by an earthquake. To Bishop Martin, who died A. D. 1327, we owe the chapel of Saint Mary, at the east end of the cathedral, where he lies interred; and to his successor, Bishop Gower, every artist and antiquarian who visit these hallowed walls must be indebted for the beautiful fabric of the episcopal palace; he died A. D. 1347, and was buried in the chapel under the rood-loft, which he had built and dedicated to Saint John. Adam Houghton, who died A. D. 1388, founded Saint Mary's College, an elegant Gothic structure adjoining the northern front of the cathedral; to which John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was a great benefactor. Bishop Vaughan is recorded as the last who contributed towards the ornament of Saint David's cathedral; he built a most elegant chapel between Saint Mary's and the choir, and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity: he died about the year 1521, and was buried in his own chapel, where a brass plate (now removed) once commemorated him.

To the aforesaid bishops these different structures, forming so very grand and noble a specimen of architectural skill and elegance, have by historical tradition been attributed. The demolition of

one of the most interesting features of this groupe, viz. the episcopal palace, has been attributed to Bishop Barlow, elected to this see A. D. 1536, who is said to have married his five daughters to five bishops, and to have portioned them with the produce of the lead which he stripped off from the roof of this building; and the damage thereby occasioned was so great, that twelve years revenue of the bishopric could not suffice to place it in the same state of repair in which he found it.

The fame of this celebrated sanctuary was so great that princes came barefooted to its shrine. In the year 1079, William the Conqueror entered Wales with a great army, and marching after the manner of a pilgrimage as far as Saint David's, offered and paid his devotion to that Saint.^g In the year 1171, King Henry the Second went to Saint David's, and having made his offerings, dined with David Fitz-Gerald, then bishop of the see; and in the time of Thomas Beke, A. D. 1284, King Edward the First, with his Queen Eleanor, came on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint David.^h Its riches were so great, and the offerings to it so abundant, that the monks are said to have divided them every week: in short, it

^g This journey of the Conqueror to Saint David's is mentioned in the two last editions of the History of Wales, and is confirmed in the *Annales Menevenses*, which state, that A. D. 1079, "*Willelmus Rex ad Sanctum David orationis causâ perrexit.*" But this expedition has been considered by other ancient writers more in a military than a devotional light. The old edition of the Welsh Chronicle says, "that William the Conqueror entred Wales with a great armie, till he came as farre as St. David's, where he offered and tooke homage of the kings and princes of the land." (P. 115.) And this account is corroborated by the historian Matthew of Westminster, who says, "*Rex Anglorum Willielmus in Walliam copiosum duxit exercitum, et eam sibi subjugavit et ab ejusdem regulis homagia per fideles obsides suscepit.*"

^h *Eodem anno Dominus Rex Edwardus venit causâ perigrinationis apud Sanctum David unâ cum Dominâ Reginâ Angliæ nomine Elianorâ die Dominicâ in crastino B. Katerinæ Virginis.* Warton, p. 651.

was once the British Loretto:—now, alas! the Palmyra of Saxon antiquity!

Browne Willis, in his account of Saint David's, says, that there were several little chapels near the sea-side, and adjoining to the places where those persons who came by sea commonly landed. They were placed in that situation to attract the devotion of the seamen and passengers when they first came on shore; and other pilgrims used likewise to visit them. The offerings received at these chapels were carried to the cathedral, and divided every Saturday amongst the canons and priests. This same author (who published his account of Saint David's in the year 1716) asserts, that some people belonging to the church, and yet living, can remember the time when the offering-money was brought on Saturdays to the chapter-house, and there divided by dishfuls, the quantity being so great as not to allow leisure to tell it. That the devotion to this church was very great in the times of Popery is certain, and how meritorious it was accounted appears by this old verse:

“ Roma semel quantum, bis dat Menevia tantum.”

“ It was esteemed as meritorious to visit Saint David's twice, as to visit Rome once.”

Three distinct but adjoining buildings form this massive groupe of varied architecture, the Cathedral, College, and Episcopal Palace; the two latter of which are in ruins, and are the most picturesque in their appearance. On entering the Close through a fine octagon gateway, they unexpectedly burst upon the sight, and form a coup d'œil which cannot fail to excite the surprise and admiration of even the most indifferent spectator: but how much more impressive

would this view appear if the modern Chapter-house was removed? for it unfortunately intercepts the most interesting building in the whole groupe, the Bishop's Palace. (See the annexed Plan.)

The exterior of this cathedral presents no fine specimen of architecture, and (excepting a Saxon door-way on the northern side) is entirely Gothic. The old western front (of which Mr. Grose has given a view in his *Antiquities of Wales*) was much admired for its Saxon workmanship and venerable appearance. The new front is beneath criticism: such an heterogeneous mixture of Saxon, Gothic, and castellated architecture I never before beheld! the columns, as well as the arches in the nave, are Saxon, beautifully proportioned and richly decorated: each arch is encircled with a rich border, and each varies in its design. The large columns are alternately round and octagon, and to these are attached smaller Saxon pillars: the upper story has a mixture of Gothic in its ornaments. The front of the rood-loft, which separates the choir from the nave, is of very irregular Gothic architecture. Under this rood-loft are three recumbent effigies: that of Bishop Gower (No. 5) is certain;¹ the other two (No. 6 and 7) have been attributed, by Browne Willis, to Thomas Wallensis, A. D. 1255, and to Richard de Carrew, A. D. 1280; but as neither of these figures is mitred, I question if they have been rightly named. Ascending some steps, you enter the choir, which is placed immediately under the tower of the church, supported by four large arches, three of which are

¹ Before the Rebellion, this stately tomb was inclosed to the south and west with a brass palisade, upon the facio of which was this inscription: "HIC JACET HENRICUS GOWER STRUCTOR PALATII, ET HUJUS ECCLESIE MENEVENSIS EPISCOPUS QUI OBIIT, &c."

Gothic: the one towards the west is Saxon, and filled up; that towards the south is also filled up; the other two remain open: all of them spring from small Saxon pillars. The organ, which formerly stood under the western arch, is now placed under the northern. The bishop's throne is well carved in wood, and on the reverse of the prebendal seats are some curious and fantastic devices. In the area of the chancel stands the altar tomb of Edmund Earl of Richmond, father to King Henry the Seventh, which was formerly decorated with his effigy in brass, four escutcheons at the corners, and a brazen plate round the rim bearing this inscription:

“ UNDER THIS MARBLE STONE HERE ENCLOSED, REST THE BONES OF THAT NOBLE LORD EDMUND EARL OF RICHMOND, FATHER AND BROTHER TO KINGS, WHO DEPARTED OUT OF THIS WORLD IN THE YEAR 1456, THE FIRST DAY OF NOVEMBER; ON WHOSE SOUL ALMIGHTY JESU HAVE MERCY.”

And on the tomb was this inscription:

“ HEU ! REGUM GENITOR, ET FRATER, SPLENDIDUS HEROS,
OMNIS QUO MICUIT REGIA VIRTUS, OBIT.
HERCULEUS COMES ILLE TUUS, RICHMONDIA, DUXQUE
CONDITUR EDMUNDUS HIS QUOQUE MARMORIBUS.
QUI REGNI CLYPEUS, COMITUM FLOS, MALLEUS HOSTIS,
VITÆ DEXTERITAS, PACIS AMATOR ERAT.
HIC MEDITARE VIANTE SEMPER VIVERE POSSE ?
NON MORIERIS HOMO ? NONNE MISER VIDES
CÆSAR QUEM TREMERET ARMIS, NEC VINCERET HECTOR
IPSA DEVICTUM MORTE RUISSE VIRUM ?
CEDE METRUM PRECIBUS : DET REGNUM CONDITOR ALMUS
EJUS SPIRITUI LUCIDA REGNA POLI.”



James Balfour Kemp

James Balfour Kemp

On the south side of the choir, and on the pavement, are the recumbent effigies of Bishops Jorwerth and Anselm (28, 29), the latter of whom is thus commemorated :

PETRA, PRECOR, DIC SIC :

ANSELMUS EPISCOPUS EST HIC.

On the north and south sides of the altar, under recesses, are the figures of two knights in armour, well executed in free-stone. The effigy on the south side (30) represents a man rather advanced in years, in a recumbent attitude, clothed in armour, with his vizor raised, booted and spurred, his head reposing on an helmet : on his left side he carries a sword suspended by a rich belt ; a lion rampant is sculptured on his breast-plate, and there is an animal of the same species at his feet. This interesting monument, intended to perpetuate the memory of the illustrious Prince Rhys, who died A. D. 1196, is in a good state of preservation.^k

On the northern side of the altar, is another recumbent effigy (26), very similar in design and execution to the one above described, but evidently the representation of a much younger man : his head rests on a double cushion ; he bears also a lion rampant on his breast, but varying in one respect from the other, as the lion has a cross bar along his neck. This effigy (which has been erroneously attributed to Owen ap Tudor, who was a prince of North Wales, and, according to Leland, buried in the friary at Hereford) was erected to the memory of Rhys of Rhys Gryg.¹ Adjoining this

^k See the annexed engraving of the portrait and effigy.

¹ These two sepulchral effigies of knights in armour are attributed by Browne Willis, in his plan of the cathedral of Saint David's, to Rhys ap Tudor and Owen ap Tudor,

monument is the celebrated shrine of the British saint (27); above it are three Gothic niches, which, according to tradition, formerly held the images of Saint David, Saint Patrick, and Saint Denis; in the front are four quatrefoil holes, and behind it are two others of a circular form, in which the offerings were deposited. Nearer the altar on the north side is the tomb of Treasurer Lloyd (25) with this inscription:

“ MARMADUCUS LLOYD, ARMIGER, JURIS CONSULTUS, ET MEDII TEM-
PLI SOCIUS HOC FECIT IN PERPETUAM PATRIS SUI CHARISSIMI THOMÆ
LLOYD, HUIUS ECCLESIE CATHEDRALIS THESAURARII MEMORIAM, QUI
OCTAVO DIE MENSIS MARTII, ANNO DECIMO REGNI SERENISSIMI REGIS
JACOBI, OBIIT, ET HIC JACET.”

He is represented recumbent in his robes, holding a book in his left hand, and raising his right hand up to his head, which rests on a cushion. The bust mentioned by Browne Willis, as having

but at the same time he expresses a doubt if the latter was buried in that church. Owen Tudor married Catherine of France, widow of King Henry the Fifth, who bore him two sons, the eldest of whom, Edmund Earl of Richmond, was buried, as before stated, in this cathedral; from which circumstance there might be some reason to suppose that the father, who was taken prisoner in the battle at Mortimer's cross in Herefordshire, and immediately beheaded in the year 1461, might have been desirous of being interred under the same roof with his son, whose epitaph records his death in the year 1456; but Leland informs us, that Owen Tudor was buried in the convent of Grey Friars at Hereford. “ Owen Meredith alias Tudor, buried in the Grey Freyers in navi ecclesiæ in sacello sine ullâ sepulchri memoriâ;” and in another place the same author says, “ Owen Meredik, corruptly cawled Owen Thider, fathar to Edmund Erle of Richemount, and graund-fathar to Kinge Henry the Seventh, buried in the Grey Freres (in Hereford) in the northe syde of the body of the church in a chapell.” His dishonourable death on the scaffold may account for his being interred without any sepulchral honours or inscription.

The first mentioned effigy may be attributed to the celebrated Rhys ap Gruffydh, who died A. D. 1196, and was buried at Saint David's; and the latter to his son Rhys Gryg, or Rhys the Hoarse.

been placed above the tomb, is not extant, and there are only faint traces of two small figures on the pedestal. The front of the choir, under which the modern altar is placed, has three long lancet windows (the one in the centre the highest) and is richly decorated with Saxon ornaments. The choir presents a mixture of each style of architecture. The north aisle is roofless, and the monuments lie exposed to the severity of the weather. It contains, on the northern side, the mutilated effigies of a knight Templar (12), and of a monk (13), with an animal at his feet, under an ornamented niche. Against the south wall is an effigy with an inscription much mutilated, and on the same side are two vacant Gothic recesses.

From this aisle we are led into the beautiful chapel built by Bishop Vaughan,^m in the early part of Henry the Eighth's reign, a chef d'œuvre of the florid Gothic, and in a high state of preservation; the royal arms and his own are finely executed in rich escutcheons, and affixed to the cieling: here he was buried, and his image was engraven in brass upon a marble stone on the pavement, with this inscription:

PRÆSUL MENEVIÆ EDWARDUS VAUGHAN HIC JACET ET LUX
 ECCLESIAE ET PATRIÆ FAUTOR, HONORQUE DECUS.
 QUINQUE TALENTA HABUIT DOMINI ET DOCTE ET SAPIENTER
 ET BENE TRACTAVIT FUDIT ET AUXIT EA.
 ERGO DEUS DIC PONTIFICI HUIC, BONE ET EUGE, FIDELIS
 SERVE ! INTRA IN DOMINI GAUDIA SUMMA TUI.

^m This bishop was a great benefactor to the see over which he presided. "Edwardus Vehan legum doctor et thesaurarius ecclesiæ S. Pauli Londini factus Episcopus Menevensis, ædificavit ædes apud S. Paulum Londini ubi Doctor Smithus nuper habitabat. Tempore famis distribuebat quingentas marcas pauperibus vicinis suis. Hic ædificavit in ecclesiâ Menevensi capellam S. Trinitatis. Hic etiam ædificavit capellam S. Justiniani. Hic ædificavit magnum horreum apud Lantfey. Hic reparavit castellum de Lanhauden, et novam capellam ibi ædificavit." Leland Collect. Tom. I. p. 325.

Not the slightest impression of this brazen memorial is left ; but the elegant little chapel still remains, “ære perennius,” to perpetuate the memory and good taste of its founder. Saint Mary’s chapel, built by Bishop Martin, is also roofless ; but from many of the well sculptured key stones that are dispersed near it, we are enabled to form some judgment of the good style in which it was executed. The Welsh Cicerone never fails to point out one amongst them, on which is the device of three rabbits, whose heads are so placed as to make their three ears appear like six. On the right hand side of this chapel lies its founder, under a rich Gothic canopy ; and on the opposite side is the tomb of Bishop Houghton. Let us now proceed to the southern aisle, where our author Giraldus lies interred. The tomb marked 22 in my plan of the cathedral, has for many years been pointed out as the effigy of our author ; and as it represents a dignitary of the church, may have been designed to perpetuate his memory. No inscription, however, exists to ascertain the personage. On the opposite side of this aisle is the figure of an ecclesiastic holding a book in his hand (20), which possibly might allude to the literary character of Giraldus ; but the inscription on this tomb is so much defaced that I could not decipher it. This aisle (which is also roofless) contains the monument of Sylvester the physician, with this inscription :

SYLVESTER MEDICUS JACET HIC EJUSQUE RUINA
MONSTRAT QUOD MORTI NON OBSISTIT MEDECINA.

And that of another dignitary of the church in tolerable preservation, with escutcheons of arms on the base of the tomb. The vestry

and chanter's chapel on this side of the church contain nothing worthy of notice. On the opposite side are two buildings nearly corresponding with these; the chapter-house and Saint Andrew's chapel, neither of which have any thing remarkable; two fine alabaster monuments, recorded by Browne Willis, as being here, are now no more: there is a place railed off, said to have been the penitentiary, where the penitents stood; and in the wall are some round holes, designed to admit the voice of the priests who officiated on the other side of it in the choir. Under this building is the effigy of a dignitary omitted by Browne Willis; and in this chapel, many fragments, found in different parts of the cathedral, have been deposited, some of which are curious: there is one of Saint Andrew bearing the cross on his breast, and another representing two females holding out an infant child to be received by an old man.

The southern door of the cathedral is Gothic, with rich Saxon decorations, and three small figures in niches over it: the highly sculptured cieling of Irish oak has a most striking and beautiful effect when viewed from the rood-loft.

Having described the principal features, ornaments, and other objects most worthy of the traveller's attention within this venerable cathedral, I shall add a few words respecting the adjoining buildings.

The college, founded by Bishop Houghton, A. D. 1388, is situated on the northern side of the cathedral, and very contiguous to it. Its community consisted of a master and seven socii, or assistants, each of whom had a separate house. Its architecture is Gothic, and the remaining shell of the chapel bespeaks its former magnificence.

To the south-west of this building stood the episcopal palace, erected by Bishop Gower, who was elected A. D. 1328: it seems originally to have formed a quadrangle, two sides of which only now remain. The bishops occupied the eastern apartments. The kitchen with its curious chimnies, existed till very lately, but they are now prostrate on the ground. The Bishop's hall is adjoining to the kitchen. On the southern side of the quadrangle, is a magnificent apartment, said to have been built for the purpose of entertaining King John and his queen, on their return from Ireland: the circular east window, which has been often and justly admired, still remains in a good state of preservation: over the entrance door way, into the great hall, are the mutilated remains of two statues, said to represent the king and his queen: but if Bishop Gower, who was elected A. D. 1328, and died A. D. 1347, was the founder of this building, how could he have fitted up a hall for the reception of King John, who commenced his reign in the year 1199? The chief beauty of the building is derived from an open Gothic parapet" which encircles it, and, by concealing the roof, gives it a very light and airy appearance; a peculiarity attached to the buildings of this bishop, as I do not recollect having observed the like in any other part of England or Wales.

This neglected cathedral of Saint David's is rendered interesting to the antiquarian by many particularities which it still retains,

ⁿ Of these open parapets, South Wales furnishes three examples, in the episcopal palaces of Saint David's, Lantphey court, and Swansea castle. "*Henricus Gower episcopus Menevensis fuit cancellarius Angliæ. Hic ædificavit magnum palatium Episcopi Meneviæ et bonam partem ædificiorum apud Lantfey, manerium Episcopi Menevensis. Hic etiam ædificavit castellum in Swanseye in solo patrimonii sui.*" *Leland Collect. Tom. I. p. 323.*



Wm. Byrne del.

Sir R. C. Hoare del.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S.

and such as are not frequently met with in other cathedrals, amongst which are the penitentiary, the rood-loft, and the shrine of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. The antiquarian, however, will have reason to regret that the numerous monumental effigies, which once enriched this edifice, have been so barbarously mutilated and robbed of their inscriptions, by which so wide a field has been left open to conjecture, and so uncertain a clue for modern ages to determine their right and original owners.

I may, perhaps, be accused of having been too diffuse in my notes upon Saint David's; but as my object in this publication is to illustrate, as much as possible, every place mentioned by Giraldus in his Itinerary, less could not have been said of this metropolitan church, which held so conspicuous a rank amongst the ecclesiastical establishments of the early ages of Christianity; and which, even amidst its ruins, deserves the notice of every inquisitive traveller who makes the tour of Wales.

I shall conclude this account with some extracts from the *Annales Menevenses*, which throw an additional light on the history of Saint David's.

A. D. 812 Combustio Meneviæ.

986 Godisric filius Harald cum nigris gentibus vastavit
Meneviam.

1000 Menevia vastatur à gentilibus.

1011 Menevia vastatur à Saxonibus, sc. Edrich et Umbrich.

1071 Menevia vastatur à gentilibus.

1078 Menevia vastatur à gentilibus, et Abraham Episcopus
occiditur.

A. D. 1086 *Scrinium Sancti David de ecclesiâ furatur, et juxta civitatem ex toto spoliatur.*

1088 *Menevia frangitur et destruitur à gentilibus.*

1131 *Dedicatio ecclesiæ Sancti David.*

1180 *Ecclesia Menevensis diruitur, et novum opus inchoatur.*

1220 *Nova turris Menevensis ecclesiæ in ruinam improvisam versa est.*

1248 *Terræ motus magnus fuit in Britannîâ et Hiberniâ, quo magna pars ecclesiæ Menevensis corruit.*

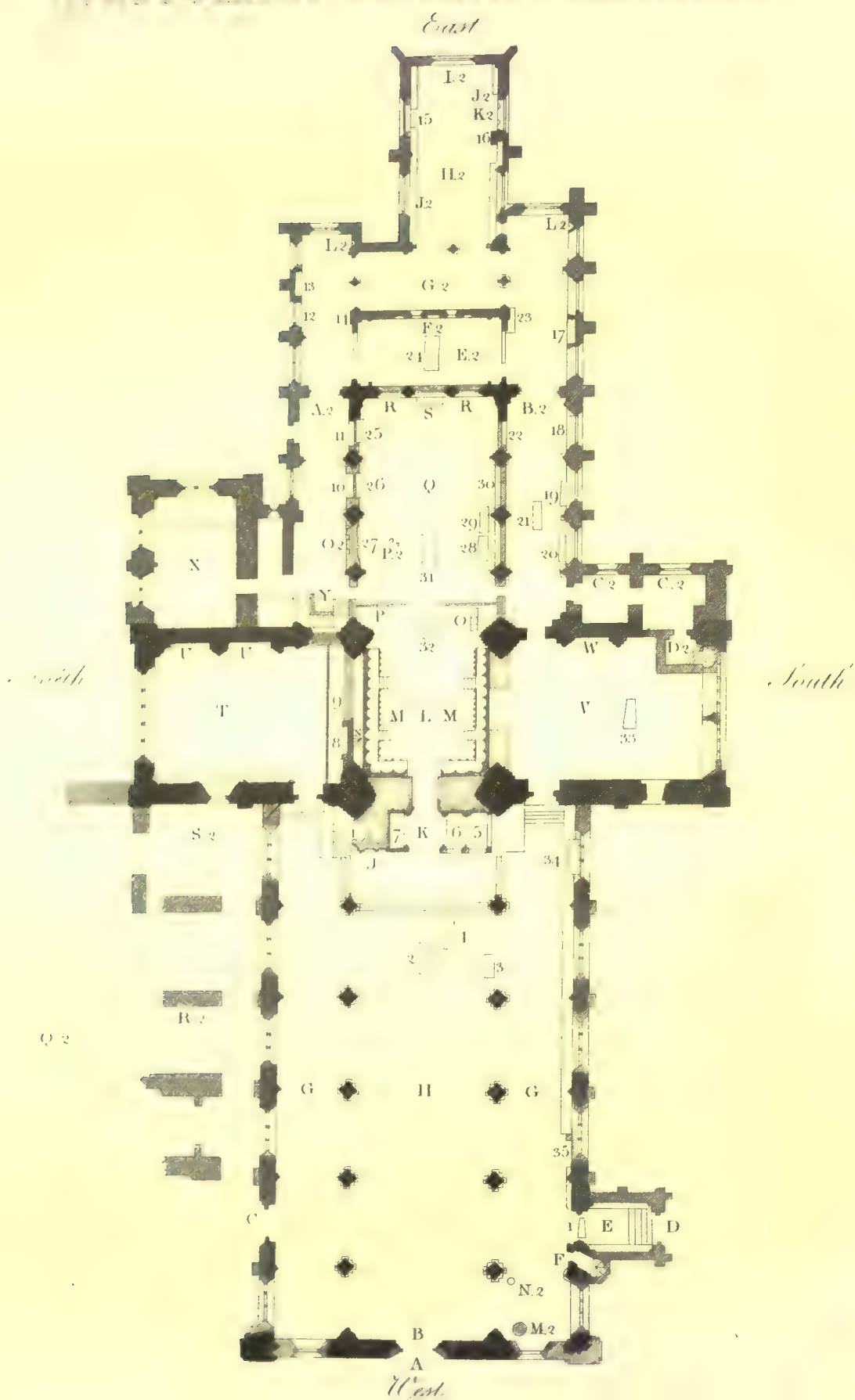
1275 *Inceptum fuit Feretrum Beati David in ecclesiâ Menevensi.*

As the account given by Powel in the Welsh Chronicle differs somewhat from the above, I shall insert his tradition:

“ In the yeare 810, Saint David’s was burnt by the West Saxons. In the year 911, there came a great navie from Tydwike, with Uther and Rahald, and past by the westerne sea to Wales, and destroyed Saint David’s. A. D. 981, Godfryd the son of Haroald did gather a great armie, and landed in West Wales, where spoiling all the land of Dyvet, with the church of Saint David’s, he fought the battell of Lhanwanoc.

A. D. 987. The Danes landed in South Wales, and destroyed Saint David’s, Lhanbadarn, Lhanrysted, and Lhandydoch (which were all places of religion), and did so much hurt in the country besides, that to be rid of them, Meredyth was faine to agree with them, and to give them a penie for everie man within his land, which was called, ‘ The tribute of the blacke armie.’

A. D. 1078. Menevia was all spoiled and destroyed by strangers.



A. D. 1088. About this time the shrine of S. David was stolne out of the church, and when all the jewels and treasures were taken away, the shrine was left where it might be found againe.

A. D. 1080. About this time certaine strangers, which were rovers upon the seas, landed at S. David's, and robbed it, and burned the towne.

A. D. 1090. The Normans landed in Glamorganshire, and spreading themselves over different parts of South Wales, put an end to the predatory incursions of the Danes and other pirates. "The Normanes in great companies landed in Dyvet, or West Wales, and Cardigan, and builded castels there, and so began to inhabite the countrie upon the sea shoare," and to their protection the church and town of Saint David's probably owed the tranquillity which they afterwards enjoyed.

REFERENCES TO THE GROUND PLAN OF SAINT DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.

A. Modern west door-way. B. West door-way. C. North door-way. D. South porch. E. South door-way. F. Stairs to a chamber over the porch. G. Side aisles. H. The nave. I. Stairs to the rood-loft. J. Skreen supporting the rood-loft. K. Porch to the choir. L. First portion of the choir. M. Stalls. N. Stairs to the gallery. O. Bishop's throne. P. Skreen dividing the two portions of the choir. Q. Second portion of the choir. R. High altar skreen. S. Communion table. T. North transept. U U. Site of two altars. V. South transept. W. Site of an altar. X. Crypt,

or chapel (now called the chapter-house) over which is the school-room. Y. Stairs to the school-room. A 2. North aisle of the choir. B 2. South aisle. C 2. Chapels. D 2. Stairs. E 2. Bishop Vaughan's chapel. F 2. Site of the altar. G 2. Avenue. H 2. Our Lady's chapel. I 2. Site of the altar. J 2. Stone seats. K 2. Priest's stalls. L 2. Niches for holy water. M 2. Font. N 2. Remains of a sepulchral pillar. O 2. Recesses for offerings. P 2. Marks in the pavement, said to have been made by the hoofs of Oliver Cromwell's horse, when he rode up to the high altar. Q 2. Site of the cloister. R 2. Flying buttresses. S 2. A ruined chamber.

REFERENCE TO THE MONUMENTS IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SAINT DAVID'S.

No. 1. A simple grave-stone. 2. A grave-stone with the head of a monk embossed upon it. 3. The tomb of Bishop Morgan. 4. A grave-stone with the indented outlines of two priests. 5. Monument of Bishop Gower. 6. Monument of a monk. 7. Monument of a monk. 8. Tomb of a monk. 9. An effigy destroyed. 10. An effigy destroyed. 11. Tomb of a monk nearly destroyed. 12. Effigy of a cross-legged knight. 13. Tomb of a monk. 14. Tomb of a monk. 15. An effigy destroyed. 16. Tomb of Bishop Martin. 17. An effigy destroyed. 18. Tomb of a monk. 19. Tomb of a ——— on a slab. 20. Effigy of a monk with a book in his hand. 21. A grave-stone in decay. 22. Effigy of a dignitary, generally supposed to be that of Giraldus Cambrensis. 23. Effigy of a knight,



James Balfour sculp

much mutilated. 24. A plain grave-stone. 25. Tomb of Treasurer Lloyd. 26. Effigy of Rhys Gryg. 27. Saint David's shrine. 28. Monument of Bishop Jorwerth. 29. Monument of Bishop Anselm. 30. Effigy of Rhys Prince of South Wales. 31. Tomb of Edmund Earl of Richmond. 32. Tomb with the indented lines of a head. 33. Grave-stone with the embossed head of a monk. 34. Tomb of a monk. 35. Arched recess.

REFERENCE TO THE PLAN OF THE BUILDINGS WITHIN THE CLOSE AT SAINT DAVID'S.

A. The eastern gate. B. Walls surrounding the close. C. The cathedral. D D D D. Buildings connected with the college. E. The college hall. F. The episcopal palace. G. The building, vulgarly called King John's hall. H. The kitchen. I. The Bishop's hall. K. The chapel. L. The cloisters. M. The churchyard.

CHAPTER II.

CEMMEIS—MONASTERY OF SAINT DOGMAEL.

THE Archbishop having celebrated mass early in the morning before the high altar of the church of Saint David, and enjoined to the Archdeacon (Giraldus) the office of preaching to the people, hastened through Cemmeis to meet Prince Rhys at Aberteivi. Two circumstances occurred in the province of Cemmeis, the one in our own time, the other a little before, which I think right not to pass over in silence. In our time a young man, native of this country, during a severe illness suffered as violent a persecution from toads,* as if the reptiles of the whole province had come to him by agreement; and though destroyed by his nurses and friends, they increased again on all sides in infinite numbers, like hydras' heads: his attendants, both friends and strangers, being wearied out, he was drawn up in a kind of bag into a high tree, stripped of its leaves, and shred, nor was he there secure from his venomous enemies, for they crept up the tree in great numbers, and consumed him even to the very bones. The young man's name was Sisillus Esceir hir, that is, Sisillus Long Leg. It is also recorded that by the hidden but

* There is a place in Kemeys, now called Tre-liffan, i. e. Toad's town; and over a chimney-piece in the house there is a figure of a toad sculptured in marble, said to have been brought from Italy, and intended probably to confirm and commemorate this tradition of Giraldus.

never unjust will of God, another man suffered a similar persecution from rats. In the same province, during the reign of King Henry the First, a rich man, who had a residence on the northern side of the Preseleu mountains, was warned for three successive nights, by dreams, that if he put his hand under a stone which hung over the spring of a neighbouring well, called the fountain of Saint Bernacus, he should find there a golden chain; obeying the admonition on the third day, he received, from a viper, a deadly wound in his finger: but as it appears that many treasures have been discovered through dreams, it seems to me probable, that with respect to rumours, in the same manner as to dreams, some ought, and some ought not to be believed.

I shall not pass over in silence the circumstance which occurred in the principal castle of Cemmeis at Lanhever, in our days. Rhys, son of Gruffydh, by the instigation of his son Gruffydh, a cunning and artful man, took away by force, from William, son of Martin (de Tours), his son-in-law, the castle of Lanhever, notwithstanding he had solemnly sworn, by the most precious relics, that his indemnity and security should be faithfully maintained, and, contrary to his word and oath, gave it to his son Gruffydh; but since "A sordid prey has not a good ending," the Lord, who by the mouth of his prophet exclaims "Vengeance is mine, and I will repay," ordained that the castle should be taken away from the contriver of this wicked plot, Gruffydh, and bestowed upon the man in the world he most hated, his brother Malgon. Rhys also, about two years afterwards, intending to disinherit his own daughter, and two grand-daughters and grandsons, by a singular instance of divine vengeance, was taken prisoner by his sons

in battle, and confined in this same castle; thus justly suffering the greatest disgrace and confusion in the very place where he had perpetrated an act of the most consummate baseness. It should be remembered, that at the time this misfortune befell him, he had concealed in his possession, at Dinevor, the collar of Saint Canoc of Brecknock, for which, by divine vengeance, he deserved to be taken prisoner and confined. We slept that night in the monastery of Saint Dogmael, where, as well as on the next day at Aberteivi, we were handsomely entertained by Prince Rhys. On the Cenmeis side of the river, not far from the bridge, the people of the neighbourhood being assembled together, and Rhys and his two sons, Malgon² and Gruffydh, being present, the word of the Lord was persuasively preached both by the Archbishop and the Archdeacon, and many were induced to take the cross: one of whom was an only son, and the sole comfort of his mother, far advanced in years, who stedfastly gazing on him, as if inspired by the Deity, uttered these words: "O most beloved Lord Jesus Christ, I return thee hearty thanks for having conferred on me the blessing of bringing forth a son, whom thou mayest think worthy of thy service." Another woman at Aberteivi, of a very different way of thinking, held her husband fast by his cloak and girdle, and publicly, and audaciously prevented him from going to the Archbishop to take the cross; but three nights afterwards, she heard a terrible voice, saying "Thou hast taken away my servant from me, therefore what thou most lovest shall be taken away from thee."

² This lord was faire and comelie of person, honest and just of conditions, beloved of his friends, and feared of his foes, against whom (especiallie the Flemings) he achieved diverse victories. Powel, p. 241.

On her relating this vision to her husband, they were struck with mutual terror and amazement; and on falling to sleep again, she unhappily overlaid her little boy, whom, with more affection than prudence, she had taken to bed with her: the husband relating to the bishop of the diocese both the vision and its fatal prediction, took the cross, which his wife spontaneously sewed on her husband's arm.³

Near the head of the bridge where the sermons were delivered, the people immediately marked out the site for a chapel⁴ on a verdant plain, as a memorial of so great an event; intending that the altar should be placed on the spot where the Archbishop stood while addressing the multitude; and it is well known, that many miracles (the enumeration of which would be too tedious to relate), were performed on the crowds of sick people who resorted hither from different parts of the country.

³ The origin of assuming the cross may be derived from the Council of Clermont, in 1095, when those religious enthusiasts who undertook the expedition to the Holy Land, had the cross sewed on their garments: "*Crucem assumere dicebantur, qui ad sacra bella profecturi crucis symbolum palliis suis assuebant et affigebant, in signum votivæ illius expeditionis, cujus originem Concilio Claromontano sub Urbano II. adscribunt scriptores omnes Rerum Hierosol. et alii passim.*" It was either woven in gold or silk, or made with cloth, and generally sewed on the right shoulder; but in the celebrated crusade undertaken in the year 1188, by Philip King of France, and Henry the Second of England, and which gave rise to this itinerary of Archbishop Baldwyn through Wales, the different sovereigns distinguished their own subjects by varying the colours of their respective insignia. In the first crusade all were red; but in this the French alone preserved that colour, whilst the English were distinguished by white, and the Flemings by green crosses. Some zealots carried their zeal so far as to imprint the figure of the cross on their skin with a red-hot iron, and thus perpetuated the holy mark.

⁴ On the Cemmeis or Pembrokeshire side of the river Teivi, and near the end of the bridge, there is a place still called Park y Cappell, or the Chapel Field, which is undoubtedly commemorative of the circumstance recorded by our author.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER II.

CEMMEIS*—From an ancient manuscript by George Owen, Esq. of Henllys, lord of Kemeys, published in the second volume of the Cambrian Register, 1796, we find that the county of Pembroke contained seven cantreds, of which Kemeys was one; in it were three comots, Ywch Nyfer, Is Nyfer, and Trefdraeth. Martin de Tours, a Norman knight, made the conquest of this territory, and founded a monastery for Benedictine monks at Saint Dogmaels, within the precincts thereof, and annexed it as a cell to the abbey of Tyrone in France, which his son Robert endowed with lands during the reign of King Henry the First. This Robert married Maud Peverel, and left issue, William, his son and heir, who married the daughter of Rhys ap Gruffydh, from whom (through the instigation of Gruffydh his son) he received great injuries; for, by force and arms, and contrary to his solemn oath and promise, he took from him his castle at Lanhever in Kemeys, for which oppressive dealing, Rhys was afterwards punished with great afflictions from his own sons, who took him prisoner, and shut him up in the same castle. To Robert succeeded William, his son and heir, who died in the reign of King John, leaving issue, Nicholas, who married Maud, daughter of Guy

* Cemmeis—Cemmaes—Kemes, and Kemeys—thus is the name of this district variously spelt. Cemmaes in Welsh signifies a circle or amphitheatre for games; and a curious kind of game called knappan, or hurling the ball, was formerly much practised in this part of Pembrokeshire; a particular account of which may be seen in the Cambrian Register for 1795, page 168.

de Brien. The next Lord of Kemeys was William, who married Eleanor, daughter of William de Mohun; he died 18 Edward II. leaving a son and heir named William, who doing homage, had livery of all his lands, but died the next ensuing year, being then seized of the whole territory of Kemeys, which he held of the king in chapter, by the fourth part of one knight's fee, wherein he had the town and castle of Newport, and leaving Eleanor, his sister then married to William de Columbers, and James, the son of Nicholas de Audley by Joane, his other sister, his next heirs.

Preseleu, Preselaw, Prescelly, Presselw—The topography of the Preseleu mountains is thus accurately described in the manuscript before mentioned:—"The cheefest and principall mountaine of this sheere is Percelley, which is a long ridge or ranck of mountaines running east and west, beginning above Pencellyvor, where the first mount of high land thereof is called Moel Eryr, and soe passing eastward to Cwmkerwyn, being the highest parte of it, runneth east to Moel-trigarn and Lanvyrnach. This mountaine is about six or seven miles long, and two miles broade; it hath in it many hills rising in the high mounten, which are to be discerned twenty, thirty, nay forty miles off and more, and from this hill may be seen all Pembrokeshire, and some parte of nine other sheeres, viz. Cardigan, Glamorgan, Brecknock, Montgomery, Merioneth, and Carnarvonshires; Devonshire and Somersetshire: the Isle of Lunday and the realme of Ireland. The commodities of this mountaine are great, for it yealdeth plenty of good grasse, and is full of sweete springs of water: it yealdeth also store of fuell for the inhabitants adjoining, for most of the mountaine furnisheth good peate and turffe, as well the lower parte and playne thereof, as the toppe of

the mountaine. Alsoe out of this mountaine have many fine rivers their originall and beginnings, namely, Navarne, Taf, Clydagh, Clethe, Syvynvey, Gwayn, Clydagh againe, and the third Clydagh, which water most part of the cuntrye. This mountaine is so high and farre mounted in the ayre, that when the countrey about is faire and cleere, the toppe thereof will be hidden in a cloude, which of the inhabitants is taken a sure sign of raine to follow shortly ; whereof grewe this proverbe :

“ When Percelly weareth a hat,
All Pembrokeshire shall weete of that.”

The greatest parte of this mountaine is a common to the free tenants and inhabitants of Kemes, within which lordship it standeth, yet in divers parts thereof claymed to be the landes of divers particular persons, and this name of Percelley is a genus, as Cotteswald is in Gloucestershire, divers particular places therein having speciall and proper names.

“ Cwinkerwyn is the highest pointe or peake of this mountaine, and is the first and cheefest land-marke that mariners doe make at sea, coming from the south or south-west, and is their sure marke whereby they make for Milford, and it appeareth unto them at the first sight a round black hill ; sayling twelve or sixteen houres after they first make this land, before they come to the sight of any other land, by reason the sea shores is so lowe ; and therefore the name of Percelley is as well knowne at sea as on lande. Along the sayd hille toppe of Percelley from the beginning to the ende, there is seene the tract of an ancient way now cleare out of use ; yet such hath been the trade of old that way, that to this day markes of it

are apparently discerned, and this way is usually called yet, ‘ The Fleming’s Way;’ and in an ancient charter of Sir Nicholas Martin, lord of Kemes, by which he makes a grant of all his lands in Presselw to the heirs of Gwrward, son of Kuhylin, and to the heirs of Lhewelyn, another son of the said Kuhylin, mention is made of this road, ‘ Sicut via Flandrensica ducit per summitatem montis, a loco qui dicitur Wyndy-pete indirectè versus orientem usque ad Blaenvanon, et sic descendendo usque ad ecclesiam Albam, Meline Trefthey, Perketh, Kilven, et Kilgwyn, &c.’ The same author remarks, that this way doth greatly confirme the opinion touching the coming of the Flemings here to Pembrokeshire; and well they might make this usuall way for their passage, for that thus passing alonge the toppe of the highest hill, they might the better descrye the privie ambushes of the countrey people, which might in straites and woods annoy them.” Were I allowed to form a conjecture respecting this ancient causeway, without a personal examination of it, I should be led, perhaps, to attribute its original construction to the Romans, and not to the Flemings; and to lay it down in my map as the military way leading from the station Ad Menapiam to that of Luentium at Llanio-isau in Cardiganshire.

Saint Bernacus—Little mention is made of this saint in ancient history. He is said, by Cressy, to have been a man of admirable sanctity, who through devotion made a journey to Rome, and from thence returning into Britany, filled all places with the fame of his piety and miracles. On the seventh of April, according to Capgrave, is marked the deposition of Saint Bernach, a British abbot of admirable sanctity, whose life he gives from John of Tinmouth, full of extraordinary miracles, but too modern to be of any great

authority. Several churches in Wales were dedicated to him; one of which, called Lanvernach, or the church of Saint Bernach, is situated on the eastern side of the Prescelly mountain; and I have been informed that there is a redundant spring, called Saint Bernard's well, under the same range of mountains near the road leading from Haverfordwest to Cardigan, not far from Castel Henry, and on a farm lately purchased by Mr. Barham, from the Harris family: adjoining the well, are some ruined walls, perhaps originally appertaining to the saint's hermitage, or chapel.

Lanhever—The annotator, Dr. Powel, has committed a great topographical error, in confounding Lanhever with Trefdraeth, the present town of Newport, and which, in a grant of Sir William Martin, confirmed by his son, Sir Nicholas, is styled Novusburgus: to these lords of Kemeys, we may reasonably attribute the foundation of the castle of Newport, of which considerable remains are still extant. The Welsh Chronicle informs us, that in the year 1215, Llewelyn Prince of North Wales went to Cardigan, and winning the new castell in Emlyn, he subdued Cemaes, and got the castell of Trefdraeth (called in English Newport), and rased the same to the ground."

The "castrum apud Lanhever" was at Nevern, a small village between Newport and Cardigan, situated on the banks of a little river bearing the same name, which discharges itself into the sea at Newport. On a hill immediately above the western side of the parish church, is the site of a large castle, and undoubtedly the one alluded to by Giraldus. On the southern side of the churchyard is a curious British cross mentioned by Camden, richly decorated in divers compartments, with knots, fret-work, &c. The neighbourhood



W. H. W. del.

St. Basil's Church

of Nevern abounds with Druidical antiquities. The cromlech, or temple at Pentre Evan surpasses in size and height any I have yet seen in Wales, or indeed in England, Stonehenge and Abury excepted. At Newport, there is a smaller cromlech, and between that place and the sea-shore there is a very fine one called Llech y drybed. Tradition has also recorded a striking memorial of this memorable expedition of Archbishop Baldwin, in the name of a bridge over the little river Duad, which is still called Pont Baldwyn, and is situated at a short distance above the village of College.

Saint Dogmael.—Martin de Tours, a Norman knight, who made the conquest of the territory of Kemeys, is said to have been the first founder of the monastery of Saint Dogmaels, and to have been there buried in the middle of the choir. But Robert, the son of Martin, was the chief benefactor to it, as appears by the following deed, preserved by Dugdale in his *Monasticon*:—"I Robert, son of Martin, with the approbation or rather exhortation of my wife Matilda, and through compassion for the poverty of the monks of Tyrone residing on my lands in Wales, have founded for them a monastery in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and have appointed an abbot to preside over it; and by the assistance of William, the chief abbot of Tyrone, and by the gracious encouragement of Henry King of England, have obtained from them the grant of a free and undisturbed possession of all those lands and possessions which I have hitherto given, or may hereafter bestow upon the said monastery, so that no part thereof can, by any means, be alienated, even by the king himself, or by any of his successors. I have also given them the ancient church of Saint Dogmael, with the adjoining territory of Landodog situated on the banks of the

river Teivi, in the province of Kemes." Besides other extensive grants of lands, he allows them the privilege of feeding their herds of swine in his own woods, and timber for their buildings, the fishery of Saint Dogmaels, with the right of erecting mills and wears wherever they pleased, on that part of the river which belonged to them: he also grants them the skins of all the deer killed in his chases, excepting those that were the perquisite of the hunters. These several grants and privileges, which had been made at different periods, were solemnly confirmed on the day when Fulchardus was publicly enthroned as the first abbot of the new establishment, by Bernard Bishop of Saint David's. It also appears, by the foundation charter, that William, Abbot of Tyrone, was present at the above instalment, which took place about the year 1126.

The saint to whom this monastery was dedicated, is mentioned by Cressy, under the names of Tegwel, and Dogmael, "as illustrious for his great virtues, his sanctity, and his miracles." In the Cambrian Biography, he is styled, "Dogvael, son of Ithel ab Ceredig ab Cunedda, a saint, who lived about the middle of the seventh century, and who has a church dedicated to him in Pembrokeshire." The last abbot of this monastery was William Hire, who, together with Hugh Eyno and seven others, subscribed to the Supremacy, 30th July, 1534, and received a pension of £13. 6s. 8d. per annum.

Some extensive, but by no means picturesque ruins of this abbey are still visible at a short distance from the town of Cardigan: its situation was well chosen, on high ground, overlooking the river Teivi. The fine old ash trees, with which the ruins of the abbey

and parish church are encircled, still give it a venerable monastic appearance. A part of the northern transept remains, in which are two recesses, and some rich key-stones, ornamented with a winged lion, an angel holding an escutcheon of arms, &c. In the adjoining church, on a stone tablet, is the following inscription: “ HIC JACET JOHANNES BRADSHAW ARMIGER, QUI OBIIT ULTIMO DIE MAII ANNO DOMINI 1588.”

Another stone, mentioned by Camden, still exists, and serves as a passage over a gutter leading to the clergyman's house. The inscription being placed downwards, it was impossible to copy it: it is thus recorded by the above historian—SASRANI FILI CVNO-TAMI

It appears, by our author's narrative, that the Archbishop and his attendants received marks of great hospitality from Prince Rhys, on the first night, in the monastery of Saint Dogmael, where they slept; and on the next day at his own castle at Aberteivi or Cardigan.

CHAPTER III.

TEIVI RIVER—CARDIGAN—EMELYN.

THE noble river Teivi flows here, and abounds more than any other river of Wales, with the finest salmon: it has a productive fishery near Cilgarran, which is situated on the summit of a rock, at a place called Canarch Mawr,^{*} the ancient residence of Saint Ludoc: where the river, falling from a great height, forms a cataract, which the salmon ascend, by leaping from the bottom to the top of a rock, which is about the height of the longest spear: and would appear wonderful, were it not the nature of that species of fish to leap: hence they have received the name of salmon from salio. Their particular manner of leaping (as I have specified in my Topography of Ireland) is thus: fish of this kind, naturally swimming against the course of the river (for as birds fly against the wind, so do fish swim against the stream), on meeting with any sudden obstacle, bend their tail towards their mouth, and sometimes, in order to give a greater power to their leap, they press it with their mouths, and suddenly freeing themselves from this circular form, they spring with great force (like a bow let loose) from the

^{*} Now known by the name of Kenarth, which may be derived from Cefn y garth—the back of the wear, a ridge of land behind the wear, a name perfectly applicable to this village, beautifully situated on the banks of the river Teivi, which, confined within a narrow vale, forms at this spot a picturesque cataract, and salmon leap.

bottom to the top of the leap, to the great astonishment of the beholders. The church dedicated to Saint Ludoc,² the mill, bridge, salmon leap, an orchard with a delightful garden, all stand together on a small plot of ground. The Teivi has another singular particularity, being the only river in Wales, or even in England, which has beavers, in Scotland they are said to be found in one river, but are very scarce. I think it not a useless labour, to insert a few remarks respecting the nature of these animals; the manner in which they bring their materials from the woods to the water, and with what skill they connect them in the construction of their dwellings in the midst of rivers; their means of defence on the eastern and western sides against hunters; and also concerning their fish-like tails.

The beavers, in order to construct their castles in the middle of rivers, make use of the animals of their own species instead of carts, who, by a wonderful mode of carriage, convey the trees from the woods to the rivers. Some of them obeying the dictates of nature, receive on their bellies the logs of wood cut off by their associates, which they hold tight with their feet, and thus with transverse pieces placed in their mouths, are drawn along backwards, with their cargo, by other beavers, who fasten themselves with their teeth to the raft. The moles use a similar artifice in clearing out the dirt from the cavities they form by scraping. In some deep and still corner of the river, the beavers use such skill in the

² I can gain no positive information respecting St. Ludoc, whose name is not inserted in the lives of the saints. Leland mentions a Saint Clitauc, who had a church dedicated to him in South Wales, and who was killed by some of his companions whilst hunting. "*Clitaucus Southe Walliæ regulus inter venandum à suis sodalibus occisus est. Ecclesia S. Clitaucci in Southe Walliâ.*" Leland Itin. Tom. VIII. p. 95.

construction of their habitations, that not a drop of water can penetrate, or the force of storms shake them; nor do they fear any violence but that of mankind, nor even that, unless well armed: they entwine the branches of willows with other wood, and different kinds of leaves to the usual height of the water, and having made within-side a communication from floor to floor, they elevate a kind of stage, or scaffold, from which they may observe and watch the rising of the waters. In the course of time, their habitations bear the appearance of a grove of willow trees, rude and natural without, but artfully constructed within. This animal can remain in or under water at its pleasure, like the frog or seal, who shew, by the smoothness or roughness of their skins, the flux and reflux of the sea; these three animals therefore, live indifferently under the water, or in the air, and have short legs, broad bodies, stubbed tails, and resemble the mole in their corporal shape. It is worthy of remark, that the beaver has but four teeth, two above, and two below, which being broad and sharp, cut like a carpenter's axe, and as such he uses them. They make excavations and dry hiding places in the banks near their dwellings, and when they hear the stroke of the hunter, who with sharp poles endeavours to penetrate them, they fly as soon as possible to the defence of their castle, having first blown out the water from the entrance of the hole, and rendered it foul and muddy by scraping the earth, in order thus artfully to elude the stratagems of the well armed hunter, who is watching them from the opposite banks of the river. When the beaver finds he cannot save himself from the pursuit of the dogs who follow him; that he may ransom his body by the sacrifice of a part, he throws away that, which by natural instinct he knows

to be the object sought for, and in the sight of the hunter castrates himself, from which circumstance he has gained the name of Castor: and if by chance the dogs should chase an animal which had been previously castrated, he has the sagacity to run to an elevated spot, and there lifting up his leg, shews the hunter that the object of his pursuit is gone. Cicero speaking of them says, "They ransom themselves by that part of the body, for which they are chiefly sought after." And Juvenal says,

“ ————— Qui se
Eunuchum ipse facit, cupiens evadere damno
Testiculi.”

And Saint Bernard,

“ Prodit enim Castor proprio de corpore velox
Reddere, quas sequitur hostis avarus opes.”

Thus, therefore, in order to preserve his skin, which is sought after in the west, and the medicinal part of his body, which is coveted in the east, although he cannot save himself entirely, yet by a wonderful instinct and sagacity he endeavours to avoid the stratagems of his pursuers. The beavers have broad, short tails, thick like the palm of a hand, which they use as a rudder in swimming; and although the rest of their body is hairy, this part, like that of seals, is without hair and smooth; upon which account, in Germany and the arctic regions where beavers abound, great and religious persons in times of fasting eat the tails of this fish-like animal, as having both the taste and colour of fish. We proceeded on our journey from Cilgarran towards Pont-Stephen, leaving Cruc Mawr, a great

hill, near Aberteivi, on our left hand. On this spot Gruffydh, son of Rhys ap Theodor, soon after the death of King Henry the First, by a furious onset gained a signal victory against the English army, which, by the murder of the illustrious Richard de Clare near Abergavenny, (before related,) had lost its leader and chief. A tumulus is to be seen on the summit of the aforesaid hill, and the inhabitants affirm that it will adapt itself to persons of all stature; and that if any armour is left there entire in the evening, it will be found, according to vulgar tradition, broken to pieces in the morning.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER III.

ABERTEIVI—This town, which in modern times has assumed the name of Cardigan, is situated on the northern banks of the river Teivi, which discharges itself into the sea a few miles from the town. When the Normans and Flemings spread themselves over the western coasts of Wales, they probably erected a fort to guard this river; but the first mention of it in the Welsh Chronicle occurs in the year 1155, when Prince Rhys built a castle at Aberdyfi, to protect his frontiers against the princes of North Wales. In the year 1157, Roger Earl of Clare, having obtained a grant from King Henry of such lands in Wales as he could win, came with a great army to Caerdigan, and fortified the castle of Dyvy, which Rhys Prince of South Wales destroyed in the following year. On the return

of King Henry to England, in the year 1165, after his unsuccessful attempts against the Welsh, Prince Rhys availing himself of his retreat, laid siege to the castle of Aberteivi, and won it, and levelled it to the ground; it was however rebuilt before the year 1177, at which time Prince Rhys held a most magnificent feast at Christmas in his castle at Aberteivi, which is thus recorded in the Welsh Chronicle:

“ This yeare the Lord Rees Prince of South Wales made a great feast at Christmas in the castell of Aberteivi, which feast he caused to be proclaimed through all Brytaine long before, and thither came manie strangers, which were honorablie received and worthilie entertained, so that no man departed discontented. And among deeds of armes and other shewes, Rees caused all the poetes of Wales (which are makers of songs and recorders of gentlemens petegrees and armes, of whom everie one is intituled by the name of Bardh, in Latine Bardus) to come thither, and provided chaires to be set in his hall, where they should dispute together, to trie their cunning and gift in their faculties, where great rewards and rich gifts were appointed for the overcomers; amongst whome they of North Wales wan the price, and among the musicians Reese’s owne houshold men were counted best.”

In the year 1188 the same Lord Rees entertained Baldwyn and his crusaders on their passage through Cardigan into North Wales.

“ After the death of Rees, Gruffyth his sonne subdued all the countrie to himselfe and enjoied it in peace, untill Maelgon his brother (whom his father had disinherited) made a league with Gwenwynwyn, the sonne of Owen Cyvelioc Lord of Powys, who both together levied a number of men, and came suddenlie upon Gruffyth at Aberysthwyth, and slaieng a great number of his men,

tooke him prisoner, and so recovered all the countrie of Caerdigan with the castell.

“ In the year 1200 Maelgon ap Rees, seeing he could not well keepe Aberteivi, of verie spite to his brother, and hatred to his countrie, sold it to the Englishmen for a small summe of monie, being the keie and locke of all Wales.

“ In 1215 the garrison which kept the castell of Aberteivi delivered the same unto Lhewelyn Prince of North Wales, upon St. Stephen's daie, who in the folowing yeare went to Aberteivi to make an agreement betwixt Maelgon and Rees Vachan, sonnes to Prince Rees, on the one side, and their nephews, young Rees and his brother Owen, the sonnes of Gruffyth ap Rees, on the other side ; where he divided South Wales betwixt them. The castell of Aberteivi fell to the lot of Owen, who did not long enjoy his newly acquired possessions, for in the year 1220 Lhewelyn, Prince of North Wales, lead an armie to Penbrooke against the Flemings, who, contrarie to their oth and league, had taken the castell of Aberteivi, which castell the prince wanne and destroied, putting the garrison to the sword.” This castle came afterwards into the hands of William Marshall Earl of Pembroke, who landing at Saint David's from Ireland, with a powerful army, laid siege to the castle of Aberteivi and took it A. D. 1223. After the death of the earl, in 1231, it reverted to the Welsh. “ Maelgon, the sonne of Maelgon ap Rees, laid siege to Aberteivi, and got the towne, and destroied it to the castell gates, slaieng all the inhabitants. And shortlie after he returned with his coosen Owen, sonne to Gruffyth ap Rees, with certaine of the princes captaines, and brake downe the bridge upon the river Teivi, and laid siege to the castell, and with engines and

mines threw downe the same, and then returned home with much honor." Soon after the death of the brave Lhwelyn, Gilbert Marshall came with a powerful army into Wales, and fortified the castle of Aberteivi. As from this period the Welsh Chronicle takes no further notice of this castle, I conclude it remained in the undisturbed possession of the English.

Few castles have experienced such a frequent reverse of fortune, and so sudden a change of masters: being situated on the frontiers of the principalities of North and South Wales, it became a most important fortress to each party: thence arose those repeated and bloody contests between the Welsh and English, to which we may attribute the small remains that now exist of this once celebrated castle. This busy and warlike town ill suited the solitary and retired dispositions of the monastic order. It contained only one small priory of Black Monks of the Benedictine order, a cell to the abbey of Chertsey in Surrey, and afterwards granted as part of its possessions to the abbey of Bisham in the same county. Leland says, "Ther is a priori in Cardigan towne, but in hit was but 11 religiose menne Blak Monkes. It stondith yet, and is a celle onto Chertesey." The parish church contains no monumental or architectural antiquities worthy of notice.

Teivi.—This fine river rises in that long and extensive range of mountains which separate the counties of Montgomery, Radnor, and a part of Brecknockshire from that of Cardigan, and to which our author gives the title of Ellennith. Its principal source is derived from a lake amongst these mountains, bearing the name Llyn Tyfi. It flows to the north of the celebrated Cistercian monastery of Stratflur, and till it reaches the little village of Tregaron

“ it fletithe and rageth upon stones.” From Tregaron, steering its course to Lanpeder, or Pons Stephani, it passes between the venerable old sanctuary of Landewi Brevi, and the Roman station of Luentium, or Loventium, in the parish Llanio-isau; the former being situated on the south-east, the latter on the north-west banks of the river, and nearly opposite to each other: from Lanpeder it flows by Newcastle Emlyn (where its course is very singular) to Kenarth, the Canarch Mawr of Giraldus, where, confined within a narrow and well wooded vale, it forms the cataract and salmon leap here mentioned. From hence, descending to Lechryd bridge, it loses its raging character, and smoothly gliding under the proud romantic towers of Cilgarran castle, and adding a most beautiful feature to that enchanting scenery, is partly lost in the marshes near Cardigan, where it becomes a tide river. It is still very justly distinguished for the quantity and quality of its salmon, but the beaver no longer disturbs its streams: that this animal did exist in the days of Howel Dha, (though even then a rarity,) the mention made of it in his laws, and the high price set upon its skin, most clearly evince; but if the Castor of Giraldus, and the Avanc of Humphrey Llwyd, and of the Welsh dictionaries, be really the same animal, it certainly was not peculiar to the Teivi, but was equally known in North Wales, as the names of places testify. A small lake in Montgomeryshire is called Llyn yr Afangc; a pool in the river Conwy, not far from Bettws, bears the same name, and the vale called Nant Ffrancon, upon the river Ogwen in Caernarvonshire, is supposed by the natives to be a corruption from Nant yr Afan cwm, or the Vale of the Beavers. Mr. Owen, in his dictionary, says, “ That it has been seen in this vale within the memory of man;” but I am much inclined to

think, that *Avanc*, or *Afangc*, is nothing more than an obsolete, or perhaps local name for the common otter, an animal exceedingly well known in all our lakes and rivers; and the recognition of it at so late a period as that mentioned by Mr. Owen, considerably strengthens my supposition. *Afancwm* is evidently the plural of *Avangi*, composed of the words *Afan*, a corrupt pronunciation of *Afon*, a river, and *Ci*, a dog; synonymous, as I conceive it, with *Dyfrgi*, the water dog, which is the common appellation of the otter among the Welsh. The term *Lostlydan*, or broad-tail, from *Llost*, tail, and *Llydan*, broad, appears to be more immediately applicable to the character of the beaver, as described to us by naturalists, and is equally authorised by the Welsh dictionaries, though not so often used as *Afangc*. That the beaver was an extremely scarce animal in Britain, may be collected from the laws of *Howel Dha*, where it appears, that even in those early days, when the skins of the stag, wolf, fox, and otter were valued only at eight-pence each, the white weasel at twelve-pence, and the marten at twenty-four pence; the beaver's skin, termed *Croen Llostlydan*, was estimated at the exorbitant price of one hundred and twenty pence. The otter is there styled *Dyfrgi*, but the name of *Afangc* no where appears, though the skins then in use are particularly enumerated. Mr. Bingley, in his *Animal Biography*, gives the following account of this animal: "The beaver is a native of most of the northern parts of Europe and Asia; but is most plentiful in North America. There is some reason to suppose that it has formerly been found in Great Britain, for Giraldus says, that these animals frequented the river *Teivi* in Cardiganshire, and that they had from the Welsh a name signifying the broad-tailed animals;

The tail is oval, nearly a foot long, compressed horizontally, but rising into a convexity on its upper surface: it is perfectly destitute of hair, except at the base, and marked out into scaly divisions, like the skin of a fish."

Cilgarran—This castle, situated on the Pembrokeshire side of the river Teivi, experienced (like its neighbour at Cardigan) the frequent and desolating vicissitudes of war. In the year 1109, Gilbert Strongbow Earl of Striguil having obtained leave of King Henry to make conquests in Wales, landed in Cardiganshire, and having conquered the country, built two castles, one at Aberystwyth, another at a place called Dyngerant, which has generally been supposed to be the same as Cilgarran.^a "In the year 1165, it was taken and rased by Prince Rhys; and in the yeare ensuing, the Flemings and Normanes came to West Wales with a great power against the the castell of Cilgarran (which Rees had fortified), and laid siege to it, assaulting it diverse times; but it was so manfullie defended, that they returned home as they came, and shortlie after they came before it againe, where they lost manie of their best men, and then departed againe. In 1199, it was taken and fortified by Gruffydh, son of the valiant Prince Rhys. In 1204, it was besieged

^a "Then the king forthwith sent for Gilbert, sirnamed Strangbow, Earle of Strygill, which was a noble, valiant, and a worthy knight, to whom he said thus: "Thou hast beene diverse times a suter to me to have some lands in Wales, and now I give thee all the lands and inheritance of Cadogan ap Blethyn, win it and take it:" Gilbert received it joifullie, and thanked the king, and gathered all the power he might, and landed in Caerdiganshire, and brought the countrie to his subjection without anie contradiction. Then he builded two faire castels there, one towards North Wales uppon the river Ystwyth at the sea shore, a mile from Lhanbadarn, another towards Dyvet upon the river Teivi, at a place called Dyngerant, where Roger Mountgomery had begonne a castell before time." Powel, p. 169.



See Book 4, Chapter 10

W. Byrne del.

CLONMEL

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and won by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke; and in 1215 surrendered to Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales. In the year 1223, William Marshall began to build a verie strong castell at Cilgarran, but receiving letters from the king to come and speake with him, he went to the court by sea, and left his armie to continue the worke he had began."

From the many revolutions this castle underwent during those times of turbulence and warfare, with which almost every district of North and South Wales was continually agitated, we cannot in modern days expect to find many remains of its ancient architecture. Two round towers, of large and massive proportions, stand conspicuous amidst its ruins, one of which, from the uniformity of its arches, seems to have suffered but little, as to its outward form, and from the prevalence of the circular arch, bespeaks a Norman origin. In one of these, a stair-case is still practicable for ascent to the summit of the tower.

The beautiful scenery around this castle stands unequalled in South Wales, and can only be rivalled by that of Conwy in North Wales; but it must be visited by water, not by land. Having skirted the sides of a long and extensive marsh, a sudden bend of the river contracting its channel, conducts us into a narrow pass, surrounded by a perpendicular rampart of wood and rock, with steep and precipitate banks of oak and copse wood, feathering down to the water's edge: the first view we catch of the castle, at a distance, between a perspective range of well wooded hills, is very striking; and what, on a nearer approach, it may lose in picturesque beauty, it certainly gains in grandeur: the proud walls of a large castle appear towering full in front; the hill on which they stand,

is rather destitute of wood, but boldly broken with projecting rocks; and, perhaps, the general effect of the landscape may not lose by this contrast to the rich surrounding scenery of wood. I have never seen ruins more happily combined with rocks, wood, and water; a more pleasing composition, or a more captivating landscape, which is animated by the numerous coracles employed in catching salmon.

Our author having made a long digression, in order to introduce the history of the beaver, now continues his Itinerary: from Cardigan, the Archbishop proceeded towards Pont Stephen, leaving a hill, called *Cruc Mawr*, on the left hand, which still retains its ancient name, and agrees exactly with the position given to it by Giraldus: on its summit is a tumulus, and some appearance of an intrenchment.

The signal victory of the Welsh, alluded to by Giraldus at the end of this chapter, happened in the year 1135, soon after the death of King Henry the First, and the cruel murder of Richard de Clare and his son Gilbert, near Abergavenny, by Morgan ap Owen of Caerleon, the particulars of which have already been related in my notes on the fourth chapter of the first book. The political changes occasioned by the death of the king, and the unsettled situation of his successor Stephen, were not overlooked by the Welsh princes, who were ever ready to seize each favourable opportunity of distressing their neighbours, or of aggrandizing their own territories. Their turbulent spirit began to vent itself in the murder of Richard de Clare, whilst on his journey from his estates in Monmouthshire, to those in Cardiganshire.—“ Shortlie after Cadwalader and Owen Gwyneth the sonnes of Gruffydh ap Conan (in whome remained the hope of all Wales, for they were gentle and liberall to all men,

terrible and cruell to their enimies, meeke and humble to their freends, the succour and defense of widows, fatherlesse, and all that were in necessitie; and as they passed all others in good and laudable vertues, so they were paragons of strength, beautie, and well proportionat bodies), gathered a great power against the Normans and Flemings, who entering Cardigan, wan, destroyed, and burned the whole countrie, and returned home with much honor. Afterward, towards the end of the same yeare, they returned again with 6000 footemen and 2000 horsemen, well armed, and to them came Gruffyth ap Rees, and Howel ap Meredyth of Brechnoke and his sonnes, and Madoc ap Ednerth, who subdued the whole countrie to Aberteivi, placing againe the old inhabitants, and chasing awaie the strangers. Against them came Stephen, Constable of Aberteivi, Robert Fitz-Martin, the sons of Gerald, and William Fitz-John, with all the power of the Normans, Flemings, and Englishmen that were in Wales, or the Marches. Now after a cruell and blodie fight, the strangers, after their accustomed use, put all their hope in their forts, and forsooke the field, and the Welshmen folowed hard, that besides 3000 that were slaine, a great number were drowned, and taken and caried awaie captives."

CHAPTER IV.

PONT STEPHEN—ABBEY OF STRATFLUR—LANDEWI BREVI—
LHANPADARN VAWR.

A SERMON having been preached on the following morning at Pont Stephen, by the Archbishop and Archdeacon, and also by two abbots of the Cistercian order, John of Alba-domus, and Sisillus of Stratflur, who faithfully attended us in those parts, and as far as North Wales; many persons were induced to take the cross. We proceeded to Stratflur, where we passed the night. On the following morning, having on our right hand the lofty mountains of Moruge, which in Welsh are called Ellennith, we were met near the side of a wood by Cynric, son of Rhys, accompanied by a body of light-armed youths. This young man was of a fair complexion, with curled hair; tall and handsome; clothed only, according to the custom of his country, with a thin cloak and inner garment; his legs and feet, regardless of thorns and thistles, were left bare: a man, not adorned by art, but nature; bearing in his presence an innate, not an acquired, dignity of manners. A sermon having been preached to these three young men, Gruffydh, Malgon, and Cynric, in the presence of their father Prince Rhys; and the brothers disputing about taking the cross; at length Malgon strictly promised that he would accompany the Archbishop to the king's court, and would obey the king's and Archbishop's counsel

unless prevented by them. From thence we passed through Landewi Brevi, that is the church of David of Brevi, situated on the summit of that hill which had formerly risen up under his feet whilst preaching, during the period of that celebrated synod, when all the bishops, abbots, and clergy of Wales, and many other persons were collected thither on account of the Pelagian heresy, whose doctrines, although formerly exploded from Britain by Germanus Bishop of Auxerre, had lately been revived in these parts. At this place David was reluctantly raised to the archbishopric, by the unanimous consent and election of the whole assembly, who by loud acclamations testified their admiration of so great a miracle: Dubricius had a short time before resigned to him this honour in due form at Caerleon, from which city the metropolitan see was transferred to Saint David's.

Having rested that night at Lhanpadarn Vawr, or the church of Paternus the Great, we attracted many persons to the service of Christ on the following morning. It is remarkable that this church, like many others in Wales and Ireland, has a lay abbot; for a bad custom has prevailed amongst the clergy, of appointing the most powerful people of a parish stewards, or rather patrons, of their churches; who in process of time, from a desire of gain, have usurped the whole right, appropriating to their own use, the possession of all the lands; leaving only to the clergy the altars, with their tenths and oblations, and assigning even these to their sons and relations in the church. Such defenders, or rather destroyers of the church, have caused themselves to be called abbots, and presumed to attribute to themselves a title, as well as estates, to which they have no just claim. In this state we found the church of Lanpadarn,

without a head. A certain old man, waxen old in iniquity (whose name was Eden Oen, son of Gwaithwoed) being abbot, and his sons officiating at the altar. In the reign of King Henry the First, when the authority of the English prevailed in Wales, the monastery of Saint Peter at Gloucester held quiet possession of this church; but after his death, the English being driven out, the monks were expelled from their cloisters, and their places supplied by the same violent intrusion of clergy and laity, which had formerly been practised. In the reign of King Stephen, who succeeded Henry the First, a soldier born in Armorican Britain, having travelled through many parts of the world, from a desire of seeing different cities, and the manners of their inhabitants, came by chance to Lhanpaddarn; on a certain feast-day, whilst both the clergy and people were waiting for the arrival of the abbot to celebrate mass, he perceived a body of young men, armed, according to the custom of their country, approaching towards the church; and on inquiring which of them was the abbot, they pointed out to him a man walking foremost, with a long spear in his hand. Gazing on him with amazement, he asked, "If the abbot had not another habit, or a different staff, from that which he now carried before him?" On their answering, "No!" he replied, "I have seen indeed and heard this day a wonderful novelty:" and from that hour he returned home, and finished his labours and researches. This wicked people boasts, that a certain bishop^{*} of their church (for it formerly was a cathedral) was murdered by their predecessors; and on this account chiefly they ground their claims of right and possession. No public

^{*} The name of this bishop is said to have been Idnerth, and the same personage whose death is commemorated in the inscription at Landewi Brevi.

complaint having been made against their conduct, we have thought it more prudent to pass over, for the present, the enormities of this wicked race with dissimulation, than exasperate them by a further relation.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER IV.

THOUGH Emelyn is mentioned in the title of the preceding chapter, no notice is taken of it in the text. This village, on the direct road from Cardigan to Lanpeder, now bears the name of Newcastle Emlyn, and is pleasantly situated on the banks of the river Teivi. I find it only once mentioned in the Welsh Chronicle, A. D. 1215, when it was taken by Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales, who in the following year, when he made the division of South Wales, gave it to Maelgon, son of Prince Rhys.—Leland also speaks of this place: “New castel, alias bi the old name Elmelin, almost on the very banke of Tyve, but in Cairmardinshire, repaired or new buildid by Sir Rhese ap Thomas. In this lordship of Elmelin is other litle fair building: there is a litle forest by Elmelin, and a park was ther ons palid.” Of this castle there are still some considerable remains on an eminence overlooking the river; its situation was very strong, being nearly insulated by the very singular channel of the Teivi. The western entrance forms the most conspicuous fragment of these ruins, the architecture of which, being of the

broad Gothic, bespeaks no very high antiquity. Lanpeder, a small town near the river Teivi, still retains the name of Pont Stephen: the verdant site alone remains of its ancient castle, which I imagine to be the same as that of Stephen, alluded to in the Welsh Chronicle, as having been demolished and overthrown in the year 1137, by Owen Gwynedh, eldest son of Gruffydh ap Conan. Here our crusaders rested the night, and on the following morning, the service of the cross was successfully promoted by the united exhortations of the Archbishop, Giraldus the Archdeacon, and the abbots of Albadomus and Stratflur. From thence they proceeded to the Cistercian monastery of Stratflur, or Strata Florida, which was founded A. D. 1164, by Rhys Prince of South Wales. Dugdale has preserved many curious memorials respecting this celebrated abbey, which I shall here insert :

“ Ego Resus Sudwalliæ proprietarius Princeps, venerabile monasterium vocabulo Stratflur ædificare cœpi, et ædificatum dilexi, et fovi; ejus res auxi, et possessiones, in quantum suffragante Domino valui, ampliavi; terram campestem, et agriculturam, et montuosam ad animalium pasturam, devotâ mente, ad remedium animæ prædecessorum et successorum meorum quantum sibi congruebat indulgens, et omnem quidem donationem quam eidem monasterio antea contuli, anno iterum ab incarnatione Domini 1184, præsentis scripti memoriâ stabilivi.”

This grant was confirmed by the three sons of Prince Rhys, Gruffydh, Rhys, and Meredyth, in the presence of their army, at the church of Saint Brigida at Rhaiader, together with all other grants, which might hereafter be made to the abbot and monks of the said monastery, either by the gift of the Pope, the liberality of princes,

of the devotion of the faithful. The donations of Prince Rhys were confirmed by King Henry the Second, and a license was granted by King Edward the First to rebuild the monastery after its conflagration in the year 1294.

“ Sciatis quòd dedimus licenciam dilectis nobis in Christo Abbati et Conventui de Strata florida, quod ipsi in loco illo in quo abbatia sua de Strata florida (nuper in guerrâ Walliæ anno regni nostri vicesimo tertio, contrà voluntatem nostram combusta) priùs sita fuit, abbaciam suam de novo construere et reædificare, ac morari possint ibidem, Deo in perpetuum servituri. Ità tamen quod bosci et viæ circa locum prædictum, propter pericula quæ per boscos illos, et viarum illarum discrimina futuris temporibus poterunt evenire vitanda, per ordinationem justiciarii nostri West-Walliæ prosternantur, et etiam emendentur.”

King Edward granted the sum of seventy-eight pounds sterling to the convent of Stratflur, for the damages suffered by the late war and conflagration.

Leland thus speaks of this place: “ Strateflere is set round about with montanes not far distant, except on the west parte, wher Diffryn Tyve is. Many hilles therabout hath bene well woddid, as evidently by old rotes apperith, but now in them is almost no woode: the causes be these. First, the wood cut down was never copisid, and this hath beene a great cause of destruction of wood thorough Wales. Secondly, after cutting down of wooddys the gottys hath so bytten the young spring that it never grew but lyke shrubbes Thirddely, men for the monys destroyed the great woddis that thei shuld not harborow theves.”

In speaking of the monastic building, he adds: “ The chirch of

Strateflere is larg, side ilid, and crosse ilid. By is a large cloyster : the fratri and infirmitori be now mere ruines. The cæmeteri wherein the counteri about doth buri is veri large and meanely waullid with stoone. In it be xxxix great hue trees : the vase court or camp afore the abbay is veri fair and large."

But this same ingenious author has committed a great biographical error, in confounding the names of Rhys ap Theodor, with Rhys ap Gruffydh.—He says, in his *Collectanea*, "Rhesus filius Theodori Princeps South Walliæ primus fundator." Now the Welsh Chronicle informs us, that Rhys ap Tewdor was slain A. D. 1090, in battle near Brecknock, at the advanced age of ninety-eight years; and the authentic charter before cited, clearly proves that the abbey of Strata Florida was founded by Rhys ap Gruffydh, and not till seventy years after the death of Rhys ap Tewdor.

Another learned antiquarian (Camden) has erroneously styled the monks of this abbey, Cluniacs instead of Cistercians. Richard Talley was the last abbot, and in the year 1553, enjoyed a pension of forty pounds a year.

This monastery is situated in the wildest part of Cardiganshire, surrounded on three sides by a lofty range of those mountains, called by our author Ellennith; a spot admirably suited to the severe and recluse order of the Cistercians. But wild and desolate as its present appearance may seem, how much more so must it have been in former times, when King Edward, for the better security of his subjects from the dangers they were likely to incur in these solitary districts, ordered the highways to be repaired, and the surrounding woods to be cut down. It was held in such high esteem and veneration, that many of the Welsh princes and nobles

fixed upon it as their place of burial, amongst whom the following are recorded in the Welsh Chronicle.

“ A. D. 1176 This yere died Cadelh, the son of Gruffyth ap Rees, and brother to the Lord Rees, after long sicknesse, and was buried honorablie at Stratflur.

“ A. D. 1191. Owen sonne of Rees, Prince of South Wales, died at Stratflur.

“ A. D. 1202. Gruffyth, eldest son of Prince Rees, died upon Saint James's daie, and was buried at Stratflur with great solemnitie. This Gruffyth was a wise and discreet gentleman, and one that was like to bring all South Wales to good order and obedience, who in all things followed his father's steppes, whom as he succeeded in government, so he did in all martiall prowes and nobilitie of mind, but cruell fortune, which frowned upon that countrie, suffered him not long to enjoy his land.

“ A. D. 1204. Howel, the sonne of Prince Rees, being blind, was slaine at Cemaes, by his brother Maelgon's men, and buried by his brother Gruffyth at Stratflur.

“ A. D. 1221. Young Rees, sonne to Gruffyth ap Rees, departed out of this world, being a lustie gentleman, and endued with manie notable vertues, and was buried at Stratflur.

A. D. 1230. Maelgon, sonne to Prince Rees, died and was buried at Stratflur.

A. D. 1235. Owen, sonne to Gruffyth ap Rees, being a noble gentleman, and verie well beloved, died, and was buried by his brother Rees at Stratflur.

A. D. 1237. Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, called all the lords and barons of Wales before him to Stratflur, and there everie one of

them 'swore to be faithful subjects, and did homage to David Llewelyn's sonne."

In this abbey were also deposited the national records from the earliest period, of which Dr. Powel, in his preface to the Welsh Chronicle, gives the following account:

"Caradoc of Lancarvan collected the successions and actes of the Brytish princes, after Cadwalader, to the year of Christ 1156, of the which collections there were severall copies afterward kept in either of the abbeis of Conwey and Stratflur, which were yearelie augmented as things fell out, and conferred together ordinarilie every third year, when the Beirdh which did belong to those two abbeis, went from the one to the other in the time of their Clêra, wherein were contained besides, such notable occurrences hapning within the ile of Brytaine, as they then thought worthie the writing; which order of registring and noting continued in those abbeis until the yeare 1270, which was a little before the death of the last Llewelyn, who was slaine at Buelt."

But of this once revered sanctuary, the repository of the interesting and authentic annals of the British nation, and the sacred mau-
soleum of its brave and valiant princes, one rich Saxon arch alone remains; its design and ornaments (unlike any I have yet seen) sufficiently testify its ancient grandeur: its situation is very unfavourable for the draftsman, being closely confined within the garden of a farm house, and having no picturesque concomitant scenery: a few ensuing years will probably complete its downfall, and the traveller, who once viewed with rapture this fine relict of architectural and monastic antiquity, will have sad reason to exclaim—"Etiam periere ruinæ!"



Sir Rich^d C Hoare del^t

W^m Byrne sculp^t

STRAFFORD

Leaving Stratflur, the Archbishop and his train returned to Landewi Brevi, and from thence proceeded to Lanpadarn Vawr. It ought to be observed, that an unusual deviation was here made from the direct road to the latter place, by returning to Landewi Brevi, which, on the preceding day, they must have passed, on their journey from Pont-Stephen to Stratflur. This deviation may have taken place out of compliment to one of their reverend and steady adherents, the Abbot of Stratflur, or our travellers perhaps, not overlooking the comforts of life, were aware of better accommodations in the richly endowed monastery of Stratflur, than in the meagre chantry of Brevi. The large tract of mountains, which almost inclose the vale of the Teivi, bore the name of Ellennith,^b and were called by the English Moruge. As, after a long and minute inquiry amongst the natives of these parts, I cannot find any modern or ancient name attached to these hills, which at all corresponds with the word in question; I am inclined to think, that the word Moruge is only a corruption from Moors, or Moorish, for such is the nature of these mountains. Leland says, “ The pastures of the montaynes of Cairdiganshire be so great, that the hunderith part of it rottith on the ground, and maketh sogges and quikke More by long continuaunce for lack of eting of hit.”

Landewi Brevi—This village is situated near the southern banks of the river Teivi, and opposite Llanio-isau, where there are evident remains of the Roman city of Loventium. It has been much celebrated by ecclesiastical writers, on account of the miracle performed there in honour of Saint David.

^b Ellennith should be written Maelienydd, for these mountains are still so called in old writings; and I have before mentioned a cantref in Radnorshire, on the other side of these mountains, called Maelyenidd.

The heresy of the Pelagians,^c which had been happily extinguished by Germanus Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, beginning to revive; a British synod was assembled at Brevi, in the year 519, at which there was a most numerous assemblage of bishops, abbots, nobility, and laity; many of whom, equally illustrious for learning and sanctity, having unsuccessfully endeavoured, by their sermons and exhortations, to refute the doctrines of this sect; Paulinus, a bishop, with whom David had in his youth studied the liberal sciences, earnestly advised the fathers there present, to send, in the name of the synod, a deputation to David, exhorting him to afford his presence and assistance towards the extirpation of this heresy. Two holy bishops of high authority, Daniel and Dubricius, undertook the embassy, and prevailed upon David to return with them to Brevi. I shall recount the miracle that followed, in the words of the historian Cressy.

“ When all the fathers assembled enjoined David to preach, he commanded a child which attended him, and had lately been

^c The new heresy of Pelagianism, which began to infect the world in the beginning of the fifth century, was introduced by Pelagius, by birth a Briton, for which cause S. Augustin gives him the name of Brito, and S. Prosper more expressly calls him the British Serpent; he has been represented by another ancient writer (Isidor), as a vain straggling monk, incorrigible, one who wandered from monastery to monastery smelling out feasts, and fawning on magistrates for their good cheer.

The special points of his heresy are thus set down by Sigebertus. “ In Brittany,” saith he, “ Pelagius endeavoured to defile the church of Christ with his execrable doctrines; teaching that man may be saved by his merits without grace; that every one is directed by his own natural free-will to the attaining of justice; that infants are born without original sin, being as innocent as Adam was before his transgression; that they are baptized, not to the end they should be free from sin, but that they may, by adoption, be admitted into the kingdom of God. And though they were not baptized, yet they should enjoy an eternal and happy life, though excluded from the kingdom of God.” Cressy, p. 164.

restored to life by him, to spread a napkin under his feet, and standing upon it, he began to expound the gospel and the law to the auditory: all the while that this oration continued, a snow-white dove descending from heaven, sate upon his shoulders, and moreover the earth on which he stood raised itself under him till it became a hill, from whence his voice, like a trumpet, was clearly heard and understood by all, both near and far off, on the top of which hill, a church was afterwards built, and remains to this day."

This church is situated on a gentle eminence, backed by high mountains, and surrounded by the most miserable hovels I ever beheld. Though a large and spacious building, it corresponds with the village in misery and desolation. Four lofty Gothic arches, supporting a square massive turret, bespeak its ancient grandeur; it can boast of no roof, but its beams and rafters; and of no pavement but the native soil: in short, the appearance of this once revered sanctuary is truly melancholy. Two of the inscribed stones, mentioned by Camden, still exist; the one standing upright close to the western door-way, appeared to me unintelligible: the other serves as a head-stone to a little window adjoining the pulpit, and bears this inscription: "HIC JACET IDNERT FILIUS JACOBI QUI OCCISUS FUIT PROPTER PREDAM SANCTI DAVID." Another stone, made use of as a stile at the east end of the churchyard, is inscribed with old and rude characters, which I could not decipher. A college for a precentor and twelve prebendaries was founded here, by Thomas Beck Bishop of Saint David's, in the year 1287, in honour of Saint David (who preached at the council held at Brevi A. D. 519, and thereby put an end to the Pelagian heresy), but recommended to the patronage of King Edward the Confessor. Leland says, "it was

called Brevi bycause it stondith on Brevi brooke:" its signification, therefore, is the church of David on the brook of Brevi. The same historian adds: "Landewi Brevi is but a simple or poore village. I passid over a litle broke to entre into hit; it is set among montaines on every side but west, where is the valley of Tive. Tive river is about half a mile off: the collegiate chirch of prebendaries stondith sumwhat upon a hy ground, but it is rude."

From Browne Willis, we learn that David Roberts, David ap Llu, and Thomas Edwards, vicars choral, subscribed to the supremacy, 4th August, 1534, and that in 1553, there remained in charge three pensions. To Thomas Derham £6. to Reginald Williams £8. 6s. 8d. and to Morgan Jenkins £3. 6s. 8d. incumbent of this late college.

In the year 1188, no greater ecclesiastical establishment existed probably at Landewi Brevi, than a simple church or chapel, commemorating the successful preaching of Saint David; and as Giraldus makes no mention of their having preached there, we may conclude that devotion and respect for the hallowed spot, alone induced them to pass through it on their road from Stratflur to Lanpadarn.

Lhanpadarn Vawr—The church of Saint Paternus the Great,^d is

^d Padarn was the son of Pedredin ab Emyr Llydaw, and the cousin of Cadvan, with whom he came into Britain, and was first of all in the college of Illtyd, where he was dignified a bishop. He removed from thence, and founded a congregation in Ceredigion, at a place thence called Llanbadarn Vawr, consisting of one hundred and twenty members, where he had the title of archbishop. He was one of the most distinguished saints of Britain, and several churches were dedicated to him. He was ranked with Dewi and Teilo, under the appellation of "the three blessed visitors," for they went about preaching the faith to all degrees of people, not only without reward, but with alleviating the distresses of the poor, as far as their means extended. *Cambrian Biography*, p. 278.

situated in a valley, at a short distance from the sea-port town of Aberystwyth in Cardiganshire. It derived its name from Paternus, a distinguished saint in the British history, of whom Cressy and Archbishop Usher give the following account:—"The sanctity of St. Dubricius and St. David, drew into Brittany, from foreign parts, Saint Paternus, a devout young man, about the year 516, together with 847 monks, who accompanied him: these fixed themselves in a place called Mauritania,* and there St. Paternus built a church and monastery, in which he placed the monks under an economus, a provost, and a dean: this monastery seems to have sent abroad many colonies of religious men into the province, for we find that this saint built monasteries and churches through all the region called Ceretica, now Cardiganshire. The church he erected in Mauritania was raised to the dignity of an episcopal see, which he governed for one and twenty years, and was from him called Pater-nensis: he was recalled by Prince Caradoc into his own native country of Lesser Britany, where he was made bishop of the church of Vannes, having left Kinoc as successor to his former bishopric."

The Bishop of Lhanpadarn attended at the synod held in Worcestershire, A. D. 603; and this place seems to have enjoyed its episcopal honours till the people killed their bishop, when the diocese was united to the see of Saint David's. Camden suggests the probability of this bishop's name being Idnerth, or Idnert, and perhaps the same person commemorated in the sepulchral inscription existing at Landewi Brevi.

In the year 1111, Gilbert, son of Richard de Clare, gave to the

* As I cannot find that the word Mauritania alludes to the name of any place near Lhanpadarn, I suppose it a corruption from the British.

church of Saint Peter at Gloucester, the lands and church of Saint Paternus in Wales. “ Anno Domini *mcxi*, Gilbertus filius Ricardi, unus de præcipuis Angliæ principibus, dedit ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Glouc: terram et ecclesiam Sancti Paterni in Walliâ, et omnia quæ ad eam pertinent, inter divisiones maris, et duarum aquarum, et medietatem magnæ piscaturæ quam fecit, &c. &c.” It appears, however, that its ecclesiastical establishment existed in 1136, for the Welsh Chronicle tells us, “ That about that time, John Archdeacon of Lanpadarn, departed this life, who, for his rigid zeal in religion and virtue, was thought worthy to be canonized,” and adds, “ That in the year 1144, died Sulien ap Rythmarch, a man of great knowledge, one of the college of Lhanpadarn.” In the time of Giraldus, it was governed by a lay abbot; and in later times, it was appropriated to the abbey of Vale Royal in Cheshire: this church, together with its precincts, enjoyed the privilege of a sanctuary, which in the year 1116 Gruffydh ap Rhys violated.

The church of Lhanpadarn Vawr is large, of early Gothic architecture, and in its massive square tower, and lofty arches, which support it, resembles the church at Landewi Brevi. The southern portal is light and elegant in its proportions. On this side of the churchyard is an old cross decorated with fret-work, knots, &c. similar to those at Nevern, and other places in Wales.

CHAPTER V.

DEVI RIVER—LAND OF THE SONS OF CONAN.

APPROACHING to the river Devi,¹ which divides North and South Wales, the Bishop of St. David's, and Rhys, the son of Gruffydh, who with a liberality peculiarly praise-worthy in so illustrious a prince, had accompanied us from the castle of Aberteivi throughout all Cardiganshire to this place, returned home; having crossed the river in a boat, and quitted the diocese of Saint David's, we entered the land of the sons of Conan, or Merionyth, the first province of Venedotia on that side of the country, and belonging to the bishopric of Bangor. We slept that night at Towyn. Early next morning, Gruffydh, son of Conan, came to meet us, humbly and devoutly asking pardon for having so long delayed his attention to the Archbishop. On the same day, we ferried over the river Maw,² where Malgo, son of Rhys, who had attached himself to the Archbishop, as a companion to the king's court, discovered a ford near the sea. That night, we lay at Lanvair,³ that is the church of Saint Mary, in

¹ This river is now called Dovy.

² The epithet "bifurcus," ascribed by Giraldus to the river Maw, alludes to its two branches, which unite their streams a little way below Llaneltid bridge, and form an æstuary, which flows down to the sea at Barmouth, or Aber Maw. The ford at this place, discovered by Malgo, no longer exists.

³ Lanvair is a small village, about a mile and a half from Harlech, with a very simple church, placed in a retired spot, backed by precipitate mountains. Here the

the province of Ardudwy.* This territory of Conan, and particularly Merionyth, is the rudest and roughest district of all Wales; the ridges of its mountains are very high and narrow, terminating in sharp peaks, and so irregularly jumbled together, that if the shepherds conversing or disputing with each other, from their summits, should agree to meet, they could scarcely effect their purpose in the course of the whole day. The lances of this country are very long; for as South Wales excels in the use of the bow, so North Wales is distinguished for its skill in the lance; insomuch that an iron coat of mail will not resist the stroke of a lance thrown at a small distance. The next morning Meredyth, the youngest son of Conan, met us at the passage of a bridge, attended by his people, where several persons were signed with the cross; amongst whom was a fine young man of his suite, and one of his intimate friends: Meredyth observing that the cloak, on which the cross was to be sewed, appeared of too thin and of too common a texture, with a flood of tears, threw him down his own.

Archbishop and Giraldus slept, on their journey from Towyn to Nevyn, and I hope, for their sakes, Lanvair presented a more respectable appearance in 1188, than it did to me in 1804.

* Ardudwy was a comot of the cantref Dunodic in Merionethshire, and according to Leland, "Streccith from half Trait Mawr to Abermaw on the shore xii myles." The bridge here alluded to, was probably over the river Artro, which forms a small æstuary near the village of Lanbedr.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER V.

FROM Lhanpadarn our travellers directed their course towards the sea-coast, and ferrying over the river Dovy, which separates North from South Wales, proceeded to Towyn, a village in Merionethshire, where they passed the night. Various have been the derivations given to the name of this country; some have deduced its name from Meirion, the son of Tibion ab Cunedda, a chieftain who lived in the middle of the fifth century. His father was slain when fighting with his brothers against the Irish, who had established themselves in several parts of the coasts of Wales, whereupon Meirion had the cantref of Meirionydd, and was acknowledged by the people of that district as their lord, in reward for his services in driving the Irish out of the country. Others say, that this province was called Mervinia, from Merfyn Frych, the father of Roderic the Great; and under this title Leland mentions it in his *Genethliacon*:

“ *Porrigitur vasto fluvii trans ostia Devi
Tractu terra potens hastis Mervinia longis.*”

Towyn, now called Towyn Merioneth, is a small town built in a bad and unhealthy situation, flanked on one side by a turbary and marsh, and distant about a mile from the sea-shore, where there is a large extent of hard and level sands. A sulphureous pool near the town, is much resorted to by the neighbourhood. I was

disappointed in not finding some relicts of antiquity, mentioned by Mr. Pennant, as existing formerly at this place. The ancient cross, with an inscription, has been removed to a house in the neighbourhood: it is said to have been erected to the memory of King Cadvan, who was considered as the tutelar saint of warriors, and to whom the church of Towyn was dedicated. On the left side of the altar in the parish church are two recesses, in one of which is the effigy of an ecclesiastic, and in the other, according to report, is that of a chieftain, now immured within the wall of the pew which stands before it.

The province of Merionyth was at this period occupied by David, the son of Owen Gwynedh, who had seized it forcibly from its rightful inheritor. The family of Conan, who bore rule in North Wales for so many years, descended from Iago, or James, son of Edwal, who after the death of Llewelyn ap Sitsylht, in 1020, succeeded to the principality of North Wales: he died in 1037, and left a son named Conan, who though heir to the throne, never obtained it: but his son, Gruffyth ap Conan, after the defeat and death of Trahaern ap Caradoc, A. D. 1078, on the mountains of Carno, regained his inheritance, and maintained it quietly for the long term of fifty-nine years. After his death, in 1137, his sons, according to the Welsh custom, divided his lands betwixt them, and the principality of North Wales fell to the lot of Owen Gwynedh, the eldest son of the late prince, who enjoyed it for the space of thirty-two years. On his death, in 1169, dissensions arose amongst his children respecting the succession:—"Edward, or Iorwerth Drwyndwn, the eldest sonne borne in matrimonie was counted unmeete to governe, because of the maime upon his face; and Howel,

who tooke upon him all the rule was a base sonne, begotten upon an Irish woman. Therefore David gathered all the power he could, and came against Howel, and fighting with him slew him, and afterwards enjoied quietlie the whole of North Wales, untill his brother Iorwerth's son (Lhewelyn) came to age, and recovered his rightful inheritance.

Gruffydh—Was son to Conan ap Owen Gwynedh: he died A. D. 1200, and was buried in a monk's cowle, at the abbey of Conwy, and so were all the nobles (for the most part) of that time buried; for they were made to beleve by the monks and friers, that that strange weed was a sure defense betwixt their soules and hell, howsoever they died. And all this baggage and superstition received they with monks and friers a few yeres before that out of England." Powel, p. 253.

CHAPTER VI.

TRAETH MAWR—TRAETH BACHAN—NEVYN—CARNARVON—BANGOR.

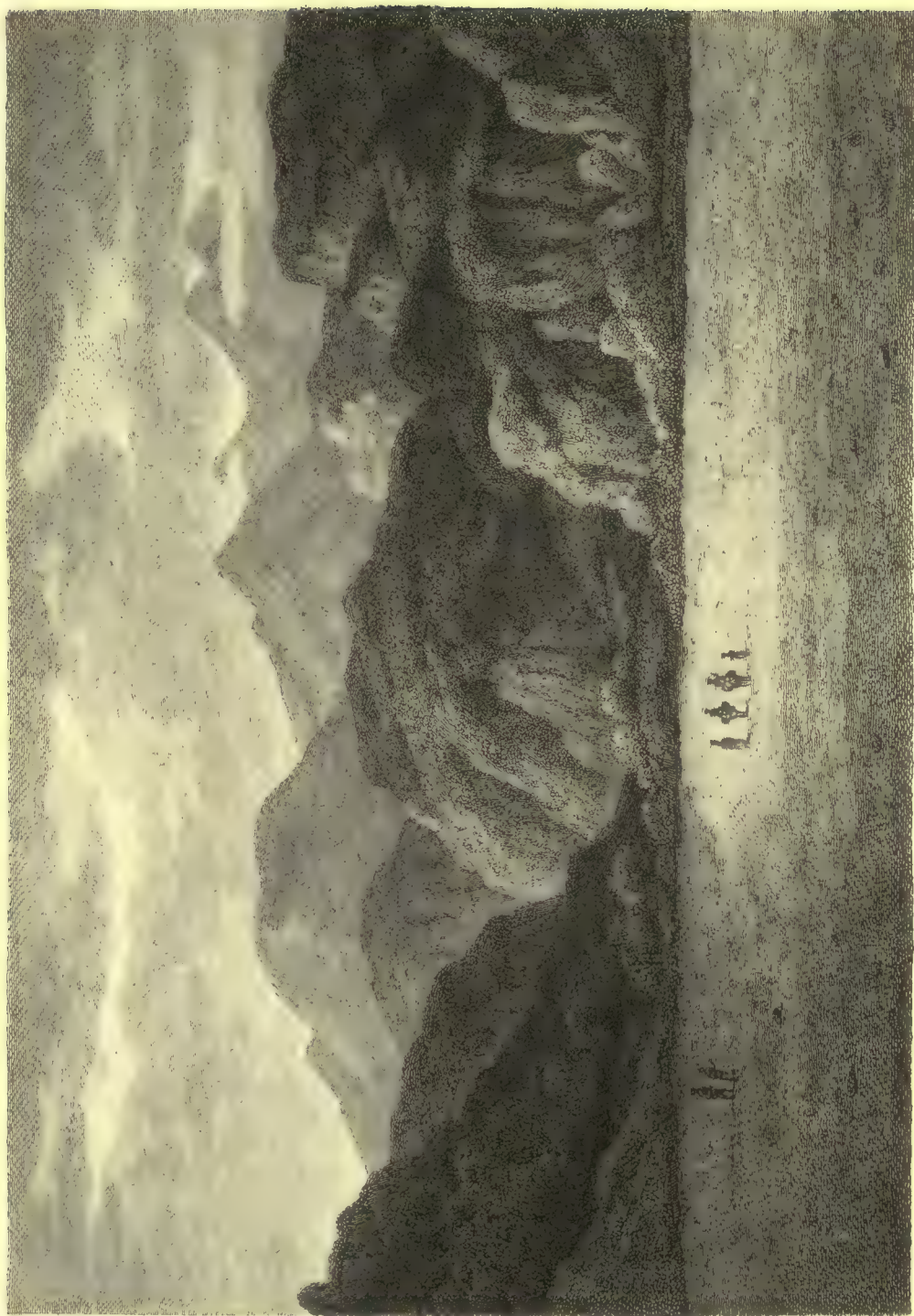
WE continued our journey over the Traeth Mawr¹ and Traeth Bachan,² that is, the greater and the smaller arm of the sea, where two stone castles have newly been erected; one called Deudraeth, belonging to the sons of Conan, situated in Evionyth towards the northern mountains; the other named Carn Madryn, the property of the sons of Owen, built on the other side of the river towards the sea on the head-land Lhyn.³ Traeth, in the Welsh language, signifies a tract of sand flooded by the tides, and left bare when the sea ebbs. We had passed over before many noted rivers, the

¹ The Traeth Mawr, or the large sands, are occasioned by a variety of springs and rivers which flow from the Snowdon mountains, and uniting their streams, form an æstuary below Pont Aberglaslyn.

² The Traeth Bychan, or the small sands, are chiefly formed by the river which runs down the beautiful vale of Festiniog to Maentwrog and Tan y bwch, near which place it becomes navigable.

Over each of these sands the road leads from Merionyth into Caernarvonshire: a large tract of land has lately been recovered from the sea, on the northern borders of the Traeth Mawr, and a public road is now making on that side, by which a safe communication will be opened to Pwllheli and Nevyn, and the dangerous and uncertain passage of the sands avoided.

³ Lhyn, the Canganorum promontorium of Ptolemy, was an extensive hundred containing three comots, and comprehending that long neck of land between Caernarvon and Cardigan bays. Leland says, "Al Lene is as it were a pointe into the se."



Dissenith,⁴ between the Maw and Traeth Mawr, and the Arthro, between the Traeth Mawr and Traeth Bachan. We slept that night at Nevyn, on the eve of Palm Sunday, where the Archdeacon, after long inquiry and research, is said to have found *Mérlin Sylvestris*.

Beyond Lhyn, there is a small island inhabited by religious monks, called *Cælibes*, or *Colidei*. This island, either from the wholesomeness of its climate, owing to its vicinity to Ireland, or rather from some miracle obtained by the merits of the saints, has this wonderful peculiarity, that the oldest people die first, because diseases are uncommon, and scarcely any die except from extreme old age. Its name is *Enhli* in the Welsh, and *Berdesey* in the Saxon language; and many bodies of saints are said to be buried there, and amongst them that of Daniel Bishop of Bangor.

The Archbishop having, by his sermon the next day, induced many persons to take the cross, we proceeded towards Bangor, passing through Caernarvon, that is, the castle of Arvon; it is called Arvon, the province opposite to Môn, because it is so situated with respect to the island of Mona. Our road leading us to a steep valley,⁵ with many broken ascents and descents, we dismounted

⁴ In mentioning the rivers which the crusaders had lately crossed, our author has been guilty of a great topographical error in placing the river Dissennith between the Maw and Traeth Mawr, as also in placing the Arthro between the Traeth Mawr and Traeth Bychan: their true situations are delineated on the map.

⁵ I searched in vain for a valley which would answer the description here given by Giraldus, and the scene of so much pleasantry to the crusaders; for neither do the old or new road, from Caernarvon to Bangor, in any way correspond: but I have since been informed, that there is a valley called Nant y Garth (near the residence of Ashton Smith, Esq. at Vaenol) which terminates at about half a mile's distance from the Menai, and therefore not observable from the road; it is a serpentine ravine of more than a

from our horses, and proceeded on foot, rehearsing, as it were by agreement, some experiments of our intended pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Having traversed the valley, and reached the opposite side with considerable fatigue, the Archbishop, to rest himself and recover his breath, sat down on an oak which had been torn up by the violence of the winds; and relaxing into a pleasantry highly laudable in a person of his approved gravity, thus addressed his attendants: "Who amongst you, in this company, can now delight our wearied ears by whistling?" which is not easily done by people out of breath. On affirming that he could, if he thought fit; the sweet notes are heard in an adjoining wood, of a bird which some call a wood-pecker, and others, with greater propriety, an *aureolus*. The wood-pecker is called in French *Pic*, and, with its strong bill, perforates oak trees: the other bird is called *aureolus*, from the golden tints of its feathers, and at certain seasons utters a sweet whistling note, instead of a song.⁶ Some persons having remarked, that the nightingale was never heard in this country, the Archbishop, with a significant smile, replied, "The nightingale followed wise counsel, and never came into Wales; but we, unwise counsel, who have penetrated and gone through it." We remained that night at Bangor, the metropolitan see of North Wales, and were well entertained by the bishop of the diocese.⁷ On the next day,

mile, in a direction towards the mountains, and probably that which the crusaders crossed on their journey to Bangor.

⁶ I have not been able to ascertain the bird here alluded to by our author under the title of *aureolus*.

⁷ Guianus, or Guy Ruffus, Dean of Waltham in Essex, and consecrated to this see, at Ambresbury, Wilts, in May 1177. In the year 1188, he attended Baldwin in his progress through Wales, and died about two years afterwards.

mass being celebrated by the Archbishop before the high altar, the bishop of that see, at the instance of the Archbishop and other persons, more importunate than persuasive, was compelled to take the cross, to the general concern of all his people, who expressed their grief on this occasion, by loud and lamentable vociferations.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER VI.

IN journeying from Lanvair to the Traeth Mawr, our crusaders must have passed either through or very near the town of Harlech; and as it remains unnoticed by Giraldus, I should imagine that no fortress of any consequence existed there at the period of Baldwin's progress through Wales. Mr. Pennant says, "That an ancient fortress at this place bore the name of Twr Bronwen, from Bronwen, or the white-necked, sister to Bran ap Llyr, King of Britain. In after times, it got the name of Caer Collwyn, from Collwyn ap Tango, who lived there in the time of Prince Anarawd, about the year 877, and was lord of Efionydd, Ardudwy, and part of Llyn. He resided some time in a square tower of the ancient fortress, whose remains are very apparent, as are part of the old walls, which the more modern, in certain places, are seen to rest upon." Its present name of Harddlech, or Harlech, is derived from hardd, towering or bold, and llech, a rock, and is truly applicable to its situation. The present stately castle, seated on a high and bold projecting rock, is supposed to owe its foundation to the same royal hand that erected

the magnificent fortresses of Conwy, Caernarvon, and Beaumaris. In the year 1283, Hugh de Wlonkeslow received the annual salary of one hundred pounds, as constable of the castle. When England was embroiled in the civil wars, David ap Jevan,⁸ ap Eineon, a British nobleman, who sided with the house of Lancaster, defended this castle stoutly against Edward the Fourth, until William Herbert⁹ Earl of Pembroke, forcing his way, with incredible difficulty, through the British Alps, attacked it with so much vigour, that it was surrendered into his hands. The rugged track, by which his army marched to the siege, is said to have retained the name of

⁸ This governor being summoned to surrender, sent an answer to the following effect :
 “That he had held out a castle in France till all the old women in Wales talked of him, and he would defend his Welsh castle till all the old women in France should hear of it.”

⁹ In the history of the Gwedir family, by Sir John Wynne, it is recorded, “ That King Edward the Fourth sent William Earl of Pembroke, with a great army, to waste the mountaine countreys of Carnarvon and Merioneth-shires, and take the castle of Hardlech (held then by David ap Jevan ap Einion), for the two earls, Henry Earl of Richmond, and Jasper Earl of Pembroke, which earl did execute his charges to the full, as witnesseth this Welsh rhyme :

Hardlech a Dinbech pob dor
 Yn Cunnev,
 Nanconway yn farwor,
 Mil a phedwarcant mae Jor
 A thrugain ag wyth rhagor.

In Hardlech and Dinbech every house
 Was basely set on fire.
 But poor Nantconway suffered more,
 For there the flames burnt higher:
 ’Twas in the year of our Lord
 Fourteen hundred sixty-eight,
 That these unhappy towns of Wales
 Met with such wretched fate.”

Lhe Herbert, or Herbert's way. Previous to this time, it appears (by Leland) to have been in the possession of Sir Richard Tunstal: "Thus Edwarde possessed al England and Wales, save Harlake that Syr Richarde Tunstal kept, but after gotten by the Lord Herbert." In the year 1460 Queen Margaret found refuge in this castle after the battle of Northampton; and having frequently changed masters during the last civil wars, it was finally taken in 1647 by General Mytton, and surrendered on articles. It is said to have been the last castle in North Wales which held out for the king, and to have been the last in England which held out for the House of Lancaster.

Deudraeth, Carn Madryn—Our Author makes mention of these two castles, one in Evionyth, or Caernarvonshire, towards the northern mountains, versus montana borealia, called Deudraeth, and the other on the headland of Lhyn, named Carn Madryn. I have not been able, either by personal researches, or by inquiry amongst the natives, to gain any information respecting the castle named Deudraeth, which in the Welsh language implies a place betwixt the two sands. There is a promontory between the Traeth Mawr and the Traeth Bychan, called Pentyr Deudraeth, or a promontory between two tracts of sand; but I could gain no intelligence of any ancient fortress being visible on that spot. Leland, speaking of this place, says, "Bytwyxt Traethmaure and Traeth Vehan, a mile thorough a point of wood caullid Penryn Duetith, as yn the myddle, rennith at low water thorough the Traeth Maur Warth, Glesse-Llinne water, and dividith Henionith of Caerarvonshir from Merionithshire. Al Penrine pointe is in Merionithshire." Itin. Tom. V. p. 52.

The river descending from the mountains under Pont Aber-

glaslyn and the Traeth Mawr, seems to have formed the ancient boundary between the comots of Ardudwy and Evionyth.^k

The other castle, Carn Madryn, is well known both by name and position, and still retains many marks of its high antiquity : it stands on a lofty insulated hill, rising immediately above the well-wooded grounds of Mr. Parry at Madryn Ucha. The accurate and intelligent historian of North Wales thus describes it :¹—" Carn Madryn, a lofty, rocky, insulated hill, noted for having been a strong hold of the sons of Owen Gwynedd, Roderic, and Maelgwn, to whom this part of the country belonged. The bottom, sides, and top are filled with cells,^m oblong, oval, or circular, once thatched or covered from the inclemency of the weather, many of which are pretty entire. The chieftains resided at the top ; the peasants, with the cattle, in times of invasion, occupied the sides and bottom. The whole summit was surrounded with a wall, still visible in many places. From the summit is an extensive view of the country, with the bay of Caernarvon on one side, and that of Cardigan on the other : Sarn Badrig is seen extending from Meireconneddshire its dangerous length, nearly parallel to the shore of Lhein. South Wales may be seen plainly,

^k " Hinionith Commote streccith onto Traitmaure, where Abreglaslynne devidith ; so that but parte of Traithmaur is yn it : (Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 42.) If, therefore, the castle of Deudraeth was on the promontory of that name, it could not have been (as represented by Giraldus) in Evionyth ; but as he mentions its situation towards the northern mountains, " versus montana borealia," I am inclined to think its position was nearer to Snowdon.

¹ See Pennant's Tour, Tom. II. p. 194.

^m In examining the various British fortifications with which the summits of the hills in Wales are frequently crowned, I have observed several of these cells excavated in the rocks ; they are vulgarly called Cytiau y Gwyddelod, i. e. the Cots of the Wild Men ; and are probably the habitations or places of safety resorted to by the early inhabitants of this country.

and in clear weather, Ireland; and in front the whole tract of Snowdonia exhibits a most magnificent and stupendous barrier.

Nevyn—A miserable village, situated on an eminence at a short distance from the western coast of Caernarvon Bay, containing (in these our modern days) no one object worthy of note, yet in former times it was honoured with a royal visit, and a magnificent tournament.

A. D. 1284, King Edward the First having completed the conquest of Wales, either to shew his magnificence, gratify his knights who had served him in that conquest, or to entertain his new subjects with a spectacle unknown in their country, held a tournament at Nevyn, a town in Caernarvonshire, lying on the Irish Channel. It was of a kind called the Round Table, either from the knights dining at such a table, or from its being held in a place encircled by a strong wall of a round figure. Tables of that form had been in constant use among the ancient Gauls and Britons, which served to give rise or countenance to the story of the famous Arthur's round table; and the king, perhaps, thought it not amiss to shew the Welsh that he was not inferior to that renowned British hero, either in valour or magnificence: An infinite number of knights, as well foreigners as English, came from all parts to share in this military diversion, and in those marks of honour which were distributed on such occasions with a bounty truly royal, by a prince who knew how to distinguish merit, and always exercised his judgment, when he displayed his munificence.ⁿ If the new projected road to Ireland through this part of Wales succeeds, and packet-boats are established at the fine and commodious harbour of Porth-dyn-lleyn,

ⁿ Carte History of England, Tom. II. p. 197.

Nevyn may again see better days, and once more flourish in trade and opulence.

Merlyn Sylvestris—To two personages of this name the gift of prophecy was anciently attributed: one was called Ambrosius, the other Sylvestris: the latter here mentioned, (and whose works Giraldus, after a long research, found at Nevyn), was the son of Morvryn, and generally called Merddin Wyllt, or Merddin the Wild: he flourished about the middle of the sixth century, and ranked with Merddin Emrys and Taliesin, under the appellation of the three principal Bards of the Isle of Britain. He was born at Caerwerthevin, near the forest of Celyddon or Dunkell in Scotland, where he possessed a great estate, which he lost in the war of his Lord Gwenddolau, the son of Ceidio, and Aeddan vradog, against Rhydderch Hael. His misfortunes in Scotland drove him into Wales; and there is now extant a poetical dialogue between him and his preceptor Taliesin. He was present at the battle of Camlan in the year 542, where, fighting under the banner of King Arthur, he accidentally slew his own nephew, the son of his sister Gwenddydd, in consequence of which calamity he was seized with a madness which affected him every other hour.

“ Awr o’i gôv gan Dduw ry gai
Awr yn mhell yr anmhwyllai.”

The literal meaning of which is, “ An hour of his memory from God he was wont to have; an hour succeeding he would be divested of reason.”

He fled back into Scotland, and concealed himself amongst the woods, where, in an interval of recollection, he composed a poem

called the Orchard, which has many beauties, and is strongly tintured with the enthusiasm of frenzy. He afterwards returned to North Wales, where he died, and was buried in the Isle of Bardsey.^o

Berdesey—I feel less regret in not having been able to visit this island, as Mr. Pennant has given so very accurate a description of it:—"From the port of Aberdaron, I took boat for Bardseye Island, which lies about three leagues to the west. The mariners seemed tintured with the piety of the place, for they had not rowed far, but they made a full stop, pulled off their hats, and offered up a short prayer. After doubling a head-land, the island appears full in view; we passed under the lofty mountain which forms one side; after doubling the further end, we put into a little sandy creek, bounded by low rocks, as is the whole level part. On landing, I found all this tract a very fertile plain, well cultivated, and productive of every thing which the main land affords. The abbot's house is a large stone building inhabited by several of the natives; not far from it is a singular chapel or oratory, being a long arched edifice, with an insulated stone-altar near the east end. In this place one of the inhabitants reads prayers: all other offices are performed at Aberdaron.

"The island is about two miles in circumference, contains a few inhabitants, and is rented from Lord Newborough. It was granted by Edward the Sixth to his uncle Sir Thomas Seymour, and after his death to John Earl of Warwick. The late Sir John Wynn purchased it from the late Rev. Dr. Wilson of Newark. This island,

^o See Jones's Historical Account of the Welsh Bards, where the poem of the Orchard is published, both in Welsh and English.

whose spiritual concerns are at present under the care of a single rustic, once afforded, during life, an asylum to twenty thousand saints, and after death, graves to as many of their bodies; well, therefore, might it be called *Insula Sanctorum*, the Isle of Saints; but, with Dr. Fuller, I must observe, that it would be much more facile to find graves in Bardseye for so many saints, than saints for so many graves. The slaughter of the monks at Bangor, about the year 607, is supposed to have contributed to the population of this island, for not only the brethren who escaped, but numbers of other pious Britons, fled hither to avoid the rage of the Saxons.

“The time in which the religious house was founded is very uncertain; it probably was before the retreat of Dubricius, for something of that kind must have occasioned him to give preference to this place. It certainly was resorted to in very early times, for our accounts say, that it flourished as a convent in the days of Cadwan King of Britain, coeval with Dubricius. It was an abbey dedicated to Saint Mary. The house underwent the common fate of others at the dissolution. Its revenues, according to Dugdale, were £46 1s. 4d. and, according to Speed, £58. 6s. 2d. In the year 1553 only £1. 6s. 8d. remained in charge to the surviving religious of this place.”^p—Browne Willis, in his account of the see of Bangor, (p. 207,) has given a list of the *bona temporalia abbatis de Bardesey*.

This island derived its British name of *Enhli* from the fierce current which rages between it and the main land. The Saxons named it Bardseye, probably from the Bards, who retired hither, preferring solitude to the company of invading foreigners.

Caernarvon—This ancient city has been recorded by a variety of

^p Pennant, Vol. II. p. 196.

names. During the time of the Romans it was called Segontium, or *Caer Seient*, the fortress on the river *Seient*, where the *Setantiorum portus*, and the *Seteia Æstuarium* of Ptolemy have also been placed. It has been styled, by Nennius, *Caer Custent*, or the City of *Constantius*; and the historian Matthew of Westminster says, that about the year 1283 the body of *Constantius*, father of the Emperor *Constantine*, was found there, and honourably deposited in the church by the order of King Edward the First.⁴

The author of the *Life of Gruffydh ap Conan* says, that Hugh Earl of Chester built a castle at this place in *Hên Caer Custenni*, i. e. the old city of *Constantius*.⁵ The name of *Caernarvon* was derived from its being situated opposite to *Mona*, or Anglesey. *Caer-ar-Mon*, the fortress over against *Mona*.

The modern town and seaport, situated very advantageously for commerce, on the banks of the *Menai*, owe their rise to King Edward the First, who, more effectually to secure his conquest of Wales after the deaths of the unfortunate Prince *Llewelyn* and his brother *David*, built there a strong and spacious castle, in an apartment

⁴ *Apud Caernarvon prope Snowdunam, corpus maximi principis, patris imperatoris nobilis Constantini, erat inventum, et rege jubente, in ecclesiâ honorificè collocatum.*" Matthew Westm. p. 411.

⁵ *Huic freto (Menai) Segontium urbs superimposita erat, cujus murorum reliquias nonnullas vidimus juxta ecclesiolam in S. Publicii honorem constructam. Nomen à præterfluente fluvio sumpsit qui etiamnum Seiont appellatur. Hanc urbem Nennius Caer Custenith, et qui scripsit vitam Gruffini filii Conani prodit Hugonem Cestriæ comitem castrum construxisse in Hean Caer Custenni, i. e. ut vertit Latinus interpres, "in antiquâ urbe Constantini imperatoris." Authorque est Mattheus Westmonasteriensis, corpus Constantii patris Constantini maximi hic inventum fuisse anno 1283, et in ecclesiâ novæ urbis honorificè locatum jussu Edwardi Primi, qui ex hujus ruinis eo tempore Caernarvon urbem paulo superiùs ita ad fluminis ostium eduxit, ut ab occidente et septentrione aquis alluatur. Quæ ut ipsa nomen sumpsit, quod è regione*

of which, called the Eagle Tower, Eleanor his Queen was brought to bed of a son. It is a grand and imposing object: its massive architecture, and want of windows, indicate that strength more than ornament were consulted in its construction. Over the portal is the sculptured effigy of its royal founder.

On a gentle eminence above the river Seient, stood the Roman city of Segontium, of which very evident traces still exist. The area of the camp, which is of the oblong square form, with rounded angles (so generally adopted throughout Wales by the Romans in the construction of their forts), is inclosed by stone walls firmly cemented together with mortar and brick intermixed; and is intersected by the turnpike road leading from Caernarvon to Bedge-lert, leaving the greater part of the area on the south side: in a wall of a field adjoining the turnpike road is a stone bearing this inscription, SVC:^s and in the fields S. E. of the camp, I picked up several pieces of the fine red glazed Roman pottery. There is a small square fort, inclosed by stone walls, nearer the river, and superimposing its banks.

The parish church of Llanbublic, distant nearly a mile from

Monæ insulæ objicitur, hoc enim vocabulum denotat. Angusto admodum et ferè orbiculari mœnium ambitu continetur hæc urbecula, sed firmo; castrumque ostendit pulcherrimum quod totum occidentale latus occupat. Privatis ædificiis pro more regionis satis pulcra, et civium humanitate prædicanda. Edwardum Primum conditorem, et Edwardum Secundum ejus filium hîc natum, et de Caernarvon cognominatum, qui primus erat ex Anglico sanguine Walliæ Princeps, summæ sibi gloriæ incolæ existimant."

^s This inscribed stone was found in a subterraneous vault near the spot, and supposing the last letter to have been G, may have alluded to the Roman name of Segontium.



Caernarvon, contains a handsome tomb, bearing the date of 1593, but much defaced and injured: according to Mr. Pennant, it was erected to the memory of a son of Sir William Gruffydh of Penrhyn. One side of the inscription is hidden by the church window, and the only part I could decipher was DIED THE LAST OF NOVEMBER 1587. AND MARGRET HIS WIEF DAUGHTER TO IOHN WYNE AP MREDD ESQ^r AND DID BVILD THIS TOMB. 1593 A male and female figure are here represented in a recumbent posture; the one habited in armour; the other has a short ruff round her neck and wrists; their heads recline on cushions and mats: the base of this fine monument is decorated, according to the custom of the times, with escutcheons of arms, and small figures in bas-relief.

Bangor—This cathedral church must not be confounded with the celebrated college of the same name in Flintshire, founded by Dunod Vawr, son of Pabo, a chieftain, who lived about the beginning of the sixth century, and from him called Bangor Dunod. The Bangor, i. e. the college, in Caernarvonshire, is properly called Bangor Deiniol, Bangor Vawr yn Arllechwedh, and Bangor Vawr uch Conwy. It owes its origin to Deiniol, son of Dunod ap Pabo, a saint who lived in the early part of the sixth century, and in the year 525 founded this college at Bangor in Caernarvonshire, over which he presided as abbot.[†] But the historian Cressy places the date of its foundation in 516, and adds, “ In the same place Malgo

[†] He died in the year 554, and was buried in the isle of Enlli, or Bardesey. In the Triads, Deiniol Wyn of Gwynedd, Catwg, and Madog Movryn, who were three bards, are called the three holy bachelors of the isle of Britain. There is a church in Cardiganshire, another in Pembrokeshire, and one in Monmouthshire dedicated to him

Conan, not long after built a city, which for the beauty of its situation, he called Ban-côr," i. e. the high, or conspicuous choir." This college was afterwards raised to the dignity of a bishopric, and Daniel was elected the first bishop, about the year 550.

* When Christianity was first established in Britain, it was only in particular societies which went by the appellation of Côr, i. e. circle, society, or congregation, distinguished after by the names of those teachers who established them. When those Côrâw began to have authority, they came to be called by the name of Bangor, from ban, high—and côr; that is, the supreme society or college. Thus Bangor Enlli, or Bangor Cadvan, the college in the Isle of Bardsey, was founded by Cadvan, under the direction of Emyr Llydaw,* and Einion, son of Owain Danwyn, about the close of the fifth century. This was one of the most celebrated of the Welsh seminaries of religion.

1. Côr Dyvrig, or the Society of Dubricius, was the origin of the bishopric of Caer Llion, established about the year 460.

2. Côr Tathan, established at Caerwent by S. Tathan, son of Amwn Dhu, under the patronage of Ynyr Gwent, in the beginning of the sixth century.

3. Bangor Garmon, or the College of Garmon, at Llanveithin in Glamorganshire, founded by Garmon about A. D. 460.

4. Côr Tewdws, in Caer Worgorn, or the College founded by the Emperor Theodosius. This was destroyed by the Irish, and afterwards restored by Garmon about A. D. 460; over which Illtyd presided, and from thence was called Bangor Illtyd, now called St. Illtutus, or Lantwit Major, and is situated in Glamorganshire.

5. Bangor Catog, founded by St. Catog, under the direction of Garmon, at the present Llancarvan, Glamorganshire, towards the close of the fifth century. Catog the Wise formed a collection of British Proverbs and Maxims, which is now printing in the *Archæology of Wales*, and which is extremely curious and valuable.

6. Bangor y Ty Gwyn was founded by Pawl Hên, or Paulinus; over which he placed Flewyn and Gredivel, about A. D. 480. This afterwards became a monastery, called in English Whitland Abbey, which was situated a few miles west of Caermarthen.

7. Llanbadarn.—There was originally a college founded by Padarn, the son of Pedredin ab Emyr Llydaw, and the cousin of St. Cadvan, with whom he came into Britain about the close of the fifth century; and he was first of all in the Bangor or college of Illtyd (or Illtutus), where he was dignified a bishop: he removed from thence, and established a congregation at Ceredigion (or Cardiganshire), at a place

There is a wide chasm in the chronological series of bishops after Daniel; for the next recorded in church history is Ellodu, or Elbodius, who died A. D. 811 :^{*} here again the series is interrupted, for the next we hear of is Mordaf, who accompanied the celebrated legislator Howel Dha to Rome in the year 940, where he went to procure, from the Pope, the ratification of his newly established code of Welsh laws. The death of this bishop is fixed in 942.[†]

thence called Llanbadarn Vawr, consisting of 120 members, where he had the title of archbishop. He was one of the most distinguished of the British saints.

8. In Lleyn was Côr Beuno, or the congregation of Beuno; which he founded about the close of the sixth century. It came afterwards to be called Bangor Clynog, or College of Clynog, and lately Clynog Vawr in Arvon.

9, 10. Anglesey. Here were two religious seminaries, Côr Cybi, or congregation of Cybi, at Holyhead, founded by him about the close of the sixth century; also Côr Penmon, at Priestholme near Beaumaris, also called Côr Seiriol, founded by Seiriol, who placed his nephew Einion over it, about the beginning of the sixth century.

11. Bangor Asav, afterwards called Llanelwy by the Welsh, and St. Asaph by the English, was founded by Asav, under the direction of Cyndeyrn, or Kentigern, in the former part of the sixth century. It is called Llanelwy, from its situation on the river Elwy.

12. Bangor Is Coed, also called Bangor Vawr yn Maelor, Bangor Maelor, and Bangor Dunod, founded by Dunod, son of Pabo, and his sons Deiniol, Cynwyl, and Gwarthan, in the beginning of the sixth century, upon lands granted by Cyngen, king of a part of Powys and the Vale Royal. This college never flourished after the massacre of its members in the bloody battle fought there in 603, when the Britons were defeated under Brochwel, and by the instigation of Augustine the monk.

^{*} The death of this bishop is mentioned in the Welsh Chronicle, as having happened in the year 809. "The next year died Elbodius, Archbishop of North Wales, before whose death the sunne was sore eclipsed."

[†] The Welsh Chronicle says, "that in the year 943 Marclois Bishop of Bangor died." As the name of no such person occurs in the history of that see, and as a bishop by the name of Marchluth is recorded amongst the Bishops of Landaff, as having died in the year 943, I am inclined to think, that the Welsh Chronicle is wrong in its statement, and that the bishop there mentioned presided over the see of Landaff, and not of Bangor.

From the year 1092, the series of bishops is regularly continued. Herveus, surnamed Cruste, was consecrated bishop of the see before the year 1093, and on account of the ill treatment he had received from the Welsh, was obliged to quit Bangor, and was afterwards translated to Ely. A curious bull of Pope Paschal, addressed to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and recommending Herveus to a bishopric, is printed in the Appendix to Browne Willis's History of Bangor Cathedral.

Urban Bishop of Landaff is said to have presided over this see from 1109 to 1119, during the rebuilding of his own cathedral, which being completed, he resigned the see of Bangor to David, a Scot, who was consecrated A. D. 1120. At the request of Urban, he consented to the removal of the relics of Saint Dubricius from the Isle of Bardsey, in his diocese, to Landaff.

Maurice, or Meuric, succeeded to David, A. D. 1139, and died A. D. 1161.

William, Prior of Saint Augustine's monastery at Bristol, was the next bishop of this see; he was succeeded by Guy Rufus, called by our author Guianus, who died A. D. 1190, when Giraldus Cambrensis, Archdeacon of Brecknock, was elected to the vacant bishopric of Bangor; but he refused the dignity thus voluntarily offered to him.

This cathedral was destroyed by the insurgent Saxons in the year 1071, and afterwards rebuilt; for we find that in 1212, King John invaded the country, forced the bishop (Robert of Shrewsbury) from before the altar, and obliged him to pay two hundred hawks for his ransom.^a In the year 1402, it was burned to the ground by

^a At this time the king passing the river of Conwey, encamped there by the river

Owen Glyndwr, and although many bishops contributed by donations towards the reparation of it, yet nothing effectual was done till the time of Bishop Dean in 1496, who rebuilt the choir which had lain in ruins about ninety years; and, on his translation to the see of Salisbury, left to his successor at Bangor, his valuable crozier and mitre, on condition that he would finish the works he had begun: he also recovered many lands that had been unlawfully alienated from the church.

Bishop Skeffington, consecrated in 1509, built the steeple and entire body of the church, from the choir downwards to the west end: he also rebuilt a great part of the episcopal palace, presented three bells, and ordered a fourth to be procured, and hung up in the steeple; these Bishop Bulkeley sacrilegiously sold, and, according to vulgar tradition, on going to see them shipped off, was, on his return homewards, struck with blindness.

Bishop Rowlands, consecrated A. D. 1598, was a considerable benefactor to the cathedral, by purchasing four bells to replace those sold by Bishop Bulkeley, and by new roofing the body of the church.

Bishop Roberts, by his will A. D. 1665, bequeathed £100. towards beautifying the choir, with which money the organ was purchased and erected.

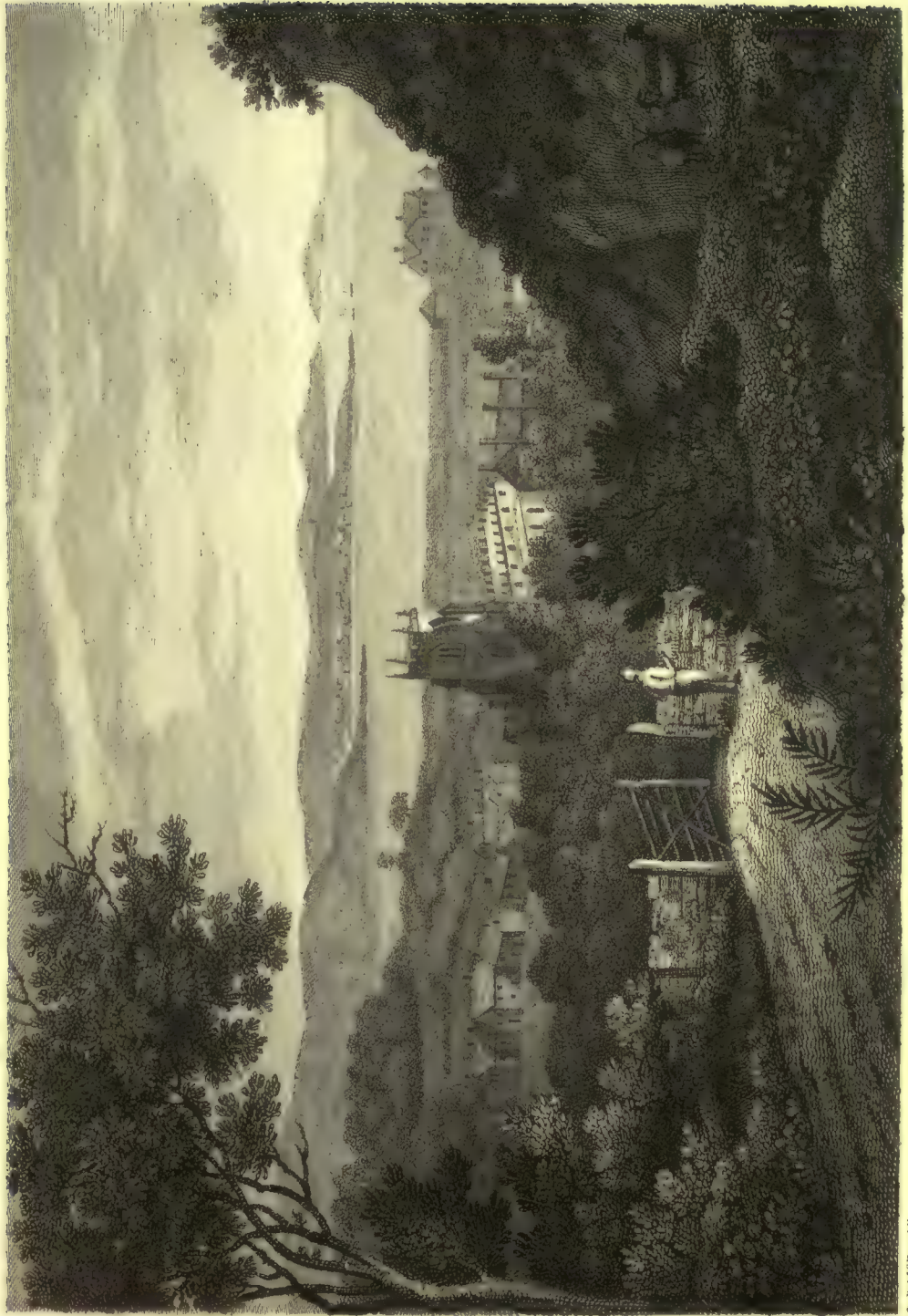
side, and sent part of his armie, with guides of the countrie, to burne Bangor, who did so, taking Rotpert, the bishop, prisoner, who was afterward ransomed for 200 hawkes. Powel, p. 265.

The *Annales Menevenses* give the following account of this fact, which they date in 1211. “*Episcopum autem Bangornensem quod ad eum (regem) venire noluit in ecclesiâ Bangornensi ad altare in episcopalibus indutum capi percepit, qui datâ pecuniâ vitam et membra prout melius potuit redemit.*”

Bishop Lloyd, in the year 1685, procured by act of parliament, the appropriation of the rectory of Landinam in Montgomeryshire for the repair of the cathedral, and augmentation of the bishopric; he also had the four bells, given by Bishop Rowlands, new cast, and, at his own charge, added a fifth of larger proportion than the others.

The chronological series of bishops is continued, by Browne Willis, to the year 1715, and by Godwin to the year 1737.

This little cathedral is more to be noticed for its beautiful situation and neat appearance, than for its monumental or architectural remains; for it can only boast of the two mutilated effigies of Bishops Vaughan and Rowlands. Mr. Pennant says, "That beneath the shrine on the left side of the great altar, was interred the brave and wise Prince Gruffydh ap Cynan, who died in 1137." The tomb of Owen Gwynedh, mentioned in the next chapter by Giraldus, is placed, by Browne Willis, at the farthest end of the southern aisle.



Wm. Byrne sculp.

See Rich's House del.

CHAPTER VII.

ISLAND OF MONA.

FROM Bangor, we crossed over a small arm of the sea to the island of Mona, distant from thence about two miles, where Roderic, the younger son of Owen, attended by nearly all the inhabitants of the island, and many others from the adjacent countries, came in a devout manner to meet us. Confession having been made in a place near the shore, where the surrounding rocks seemed to form a natural theatre,¹ many persons were induced to take the cross, by

¹ The spot selected by Baldwin, for addressing the multitude, has in some degree been elucidated by the anonymous author of the Supplement to Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*: he says, "That from tradition and memorials still retained, we have reasons to suppose, that they met in an open place in the parish of Landisilio, called Cerrig y Borth: the inhabitants, by a grateful remembrance, to perpetuate the honour of that day, called the place where the Archbishop stood, Carreg yr Archjagon, i. e. the Archbishop's Rock, and where Prince Roderic stood, Maen Roderic, or the stone of Roderic.

This account is in part corroborated by the following particulars transmitted to me by Mr. Richard Llwyd of Beaumaris, who, at my request, obligingly made personal inquiries on the spot respecting the above places.

"Cerrig y Borth being a rough undulating district, could not, for that reason, have been chosen for addressing a multitude; but adjoining it, there are two eminences which command a convenient surface for that purpose; one called Maen Rodri (the stone or rock of Roderic), the property of Owen Williams, Esq.; and the other called Carreg Iago, belonging to Lord Uxbridge: this last, as now pronounced, means the rock of St. James; but I have no difficulty in admitting, that Carreg yr Arch Iagon may (by the compression of common indiscriminating language, and the obliteration

the persuasive discourses of the Archbishop, and Alexander,² our interpreter, archdeacon of that place, and of Sisillus, abbot of Stratflur. Many chosen youths of the family of Roderic were seated on an opposite rock, and not one of them could be prevailed upon to take the cross, although the Archbishop and others most earnestly exhorted them, but in vain, by an address particularly directed to them. It came to pass within three days, as if by divine vengeance, that these young men, with many others, pursued some robbers of that country; being discomfited and put to flight, some were slain, others mortally wounded, and the survivors voluntarily assumed that cross they had before despised. Roderic also, who a short time before had incestuously married the daughter of Rhys, related to him by blood in the third degree; in order, by the assistance of that prince, to be better able to defend himself against the sons of his brothers, whom he had disinherited, not paying attention to the wholesome admonitions of the Archbishop on this subject, was

of the event from ignorant minds by the lapse of so many centuries) be contracted into *Carreg Iago*.

“*Cadair yr arch esgob*, is now also contracted into *Cadair* (chair), a seat naturally formed in the rock, with a rude arch over it, on the road side, which is a rough terrace over the breast of a rocky and commanding cliff, and the nearest way from the above eminences to the insulated church of *Lantisilio*. This word *Cadair*, though in general language a chair, yet when applied to exalted situations, means an observatory, as *Cadair Idris*, &c.; but there can, in my opinion, be no doubt that this seat in the rock is that described by the words *Cadair yr Arch Esgob*.”

² Alexander, who acted as interpreter between the Welsh and English, was Archdeacon of Bangor in the year 1166, during the archiepiscopacy of Becket, and held the same dignity in 1188, when Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury visited these parts, on pretext of inviting the Welsh to undertake the crusade to the Holy Land, or, as some think, to deprive the metropolitan church of Saint David's of its jurisdiction.

a little while afterwards dispossessed of all his lands by their means : thus deservedly meeting with disappointment from the very source from which he expected support. The island of Mona contains three hundred and forty-three villages, considered equal to three hundreds. Cantred, a compound word from the British and Irish languages, is a portion of land equal to one hundred villages. There are three islands contiguous to Britain, on its different sides, which are said to be nearly of an equal size. The isle of Wight on the south, Mona, or Anglesey, on the west, and Mania, or Man, on the north-west side. The two first are separated from Britain by narrow channels ; the third is much further removed, lying almost midway between the counties of Ulster in Ireland, and Galway in Scotland : the island of Mona is a dry and stoney land, rough and unpleasant in its appearance, similar in its exterior qualities to the land of Pebidion,³ near Saint David's, but very different as to its interior value ; for this island is incomparably more fertile in corn than any other part of Wales : from whence arose the British proverb, " Mon mam Cymbry, Mona mother of Wales ;" and when the crops have been defective in all other parts of the country, this island, from the richness of its soil and abundant produce, has been able to supply all Wales.

As many things within this island are worthy of remark, I shall not think it superfluous to make mention of some of them. There is a stone here resembling a human thigh,⁴ which possesses this innate virtue, that whatever distance it may be carried, it returns,

³ This hundred contained the comots of Mynyw, or St. David's, and Pencaer.

⁴ I am indebted to Mr. Richard Llwyd, for the following curious document from a manuscript of the late intelligent Mr. Rowlands, respecting this miraculous stone,

of its own accord, the following night, as has often been experienced by the inhabitants. Hugh Earl of Chester, in the reign of King Henry the First, having by force occupied this island, and the adjacent country, heard of the miraculous power of this stone, and for the purpose of trial, ordered it to be fastened, with strong iron chains, to one of a larger size, and to be thrown into the sea; on the following morning, however, according to custom, it was found in its original position, on which account the earl issued a public edict, that no one, from that time, should presume to move the stone from its place. A countryman also, to try the powers of this stone, fastened it to his thigh, which immediately became putrid, and the stone returned to its original situation.

There is in the same island, a stoney hill, not very large or high, from one side of which if you cry aloud, you will not be heard on the other; and it is called (by antiphrasis) the rock of hearers. In the northern part of Great Britain (Northumberland) so named by the English, from its situation across the river Humber, there is a hill of a similar nature, where if a loud horn or trumpet is sounded on one side, it cannot be heard on the opposite one. There is also in this island, the church of Saint Tefredaucus,⁵ into which Hugh called Maen Morddwyd, or the stone of the thigh, which once existed in Llanidan parish.

“ Hic etiam lapis lumbi vulgò Maen Morddwyd, in hujus cæmiterii vallo locum sibi è longo à retro tempore obtinuit exindeque his nuperis annis, quo nescio Papicolâ vel quâ insciâ manu nullâ ut olim retinente virtute, quæ tunc penitus elanguit aut vetustate evaporavit, nullo sanè loci dispendio, nec illi qui eripuit emolumento, ereptus et deportatus fuit.”

⁵ This church is at Llandyfrydog, a small village in Twrkelin hundred, not far distant from Llanælian, and about three miles from the bay of Dulas. Saint Tyvrydog, to whom it was dedicated, was one of the sons of Arwystyl Glof, a saint who lived in the latter part of the sixth century.

Earl of Shrewsbury (who, together with the Earl of Chester, had forcibly entered Anglesey), on a certain night put some dogs, which on the following morning were found mad, and he himself died within a month; for some pirates, from the Orcades, having entered the port of the island in their long vessels, the earl apprised of their approach, boldly met them, rushing into the sea upon a spirited horse: the commander of the expedition, Magnus, standing on the prow of the foremost ship, aimed an arrow at him, and although the earl was completely equipped in a coat of mail, and guarded in every part of his body, except his eyes, the unlucky weapon struck his right eye, and, entering his brain, he fell a lifeless corpse into the sea; the victor seeing him in this state, proudly and exultingly exclaimed, in the Danish tongue, “Leit loup,” let him leap: and from this time the power of the English ceased in Anglesey. In our times also, when Henry the Second was leading an army into North Wales, where he had experienced the ill fortune of war, in a narrow woody pass near Coleshulle; he sent a fleet into Anglesey, and began to plunder the aforesaid church, and other sacred places; but the divine vengeance pursued him, for the inhabitants rushed upon the invaders, few against many, unarmed against armed, and having slain great numbers, and taken many prisoners, gained a most complete and bloody victory: for as our topographical history of Ireland testifies, that the Welsh and Irish are more prone to anger and revenge, than any other nations; the saints likewise of those countries appear to be of a more vindictive nature.

Two noble persons, and uncles of the author of this book, were sent thither by the king; namely, Henry, son of King Henry the

First, and uncle to King Henry the Second, by Nest, daughter of Rhys Prince of South Wales, and Robert, son of Stephen, brother to Henry: a man who in our days, shewing the way to others, first attacked Ireland, and whose fame is recorded in our prophetic history. Henry, actuated by too much valour and ill-supported, was pierced by a lance, and fell amongst the foremost, to the great concern of his attendants, and Robert despairing of being able to defend himself, was badly wounded, and escaped with difficulty to the ships.

There is a small island, almost adjoining to Anglesey, which is inhabited by hermits, living by manual labour, and serving God. It is remarkable, that when, by the influence of human passions, any discord arises among them, all their provisions are devoured and infected by a species of small mice, with which the island abounds; but when the discord ceases, they are no longer molested. Nor is it to be wondered at, if the servants of God sometimes disagree, since Jacob and Esau contended in the womb of Rebecca, and Paul and Barnabas differed; the disciples also of Jesus disputed which of them should be the greatest; for these are the temptations of human infirmity; yet virtue is often made perfect by infirmity, and faith is increased by tribulations. This island is called in Welsh, Ynys Lenach, or priest's island, because many bodies of saints are deposited there, and no woman is suffered to enter it.

We saw in Anglesey a dog, who accidentally had lost his tail, and whose whole progeny bore the same defect. It is wonderful, that nature should, as it were, conform itself in this particular to the accident of the father. We saw also a soldier, named Earthbald,

born in Devonshire, whose father denying the child with which his mother was pregnant, and from motives of jealousy accusing her of inconstancy; nature alone decided the controversy by the birth of the child, who, by a miracle, exhibited on his upper lip a scar, similar to one his father bore in consequence of a wound he had received from a lance in one of his military expeditions. Stephen, the son of Earthbald, had a similar mark, the accident being in a manner converted into nature. A like miracle of nature occurred, in Alberic, son of Alberic Earl of Veer, whose father, during the pregnancy of his mother, the daughter of Henry of Essex, having laboured to procure a divorce, on account of the ignominy of her father; the child when born, had the same blemish in its eye, as the father had got from a casual hurt. These defects may be entailed on the offspring, perhaps by the impression made on the memory by frequent and steady observation; as it is reported that a queen, accustomed to see the picture of a negro in her chamber, unexpectedly brought forth a black child; and is exculpated by Quintilian on account of the picture. In like manner, it happened to the spotted sheep, given by Laban out of his flock to his nephew Jacob, and which conceived by means of variegated rods;⁶ nor is the child always affected by the mother's imagination alone, but sometimes by that of the father; for it is well known, that a man seeing a passenger near him, who was convulsed both behind and before, on

⁶ "And Jacob took him rods of green poplar, and of the hazel, and of the chesnut tree, and peeled white strakes in them, and made the white appear which was in the rods. And he set the rods, which he had peeled, before the flocks in the gutters in the watering troughs, when the flocks came to drink, that they should conceive when they came to drink. And the flocks conceived before the rods, and brought forth cattle speckled and spotted." Genesis, chapter xxx.

going home and telling his wife, that he could not get the impression of this sight off his mind, begat a child who was affected in a similar manner.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER VII.

MONA or Anglesey—This island, once the principal seat of the Druids, and the last asylum to which the distressed Britons fled for succour from the victorious Romans; the residence of the British princes, and the stronghold of their expiring armies; contains many interesting monuments of the highest antiquity, and coeval with its ancient inhabitants, the Druids. Though a large volume has been dedicated to this little island, yet its parochial and antiquarian history has not been so fully developed as the traveller could either wish or have expected, from so able, learned, and ingenious a writer as Mr. Rowlands.

Its sovereignty appears to have been both frequently and sturdily contested for above four centuries, and was the scene on which the last and decisive battle was fought between the Welsh and English; and although Prince Llewelyn here witnessed the total overthrow of his rival King Edward the First, and the discomfiture of his army, with the loss of many of its most illustrious knights and chieftains; yet fortune, on this occasion, seems only to have glimmered for a moment in his favour, for in the ensuing year he was betrayed, and lost his life near Builth in Brecknock.

The first mention made of this island in the Welsh Chronicle, is in the year 808, when its possession was disputed by Conan Tindaethwy, and Howel, sons of Roderic Molwynoc; victory decided in favour of the latter, who retained possession of it till the year 817, when it was taken from him by his brother Conan.^a

A. D. 818. In the reign of Mervyn Frych and Esylht, the only daughter of the late Conan, Egbert King of the West Saxons entered Wales with a great army, and destroyed the whole country unto Snowdon hills; and about the same time, there was a sore battle fought in Anglesey, called the battle of Lhanvaes. Powel, p. 25.

About the year 843, at the commencement of the reign of Roderic the Great, Ethelwulph King of the Saxons united his forces with Burchred King of Mercia, and entering North Wales with a great power, destroyed Anglesey, and fought diverse battles with the Welsh. Powel, p. 29.

A. D. 873. The Danes having made peace with King Alfred, and according to the words of the Welsh Chronicle, "having abjured England," bent their force against Wales, and entered Anglesey with a large army, where Roderic the Great gave them two battles; one at a place called Bangole, and another at a place called Menegid.^b

^a Conan Prince of Wales, and his brother Howel could not agree, insomuch that they tried the matter by battell, wherein Howel had the victorie. This Howel, the brother of Conan King or Prince of North Wales, did claime the ile of Môn or Anglesey for part of his father's inheritance, which Conan refused to give him, and thereupon they fell at variance, and consequentlie to make warre the one against the other, which is unnaturall amongst brethren. Howel gave his brother Conan another battell, and slew a great number of his people, whereupon Conan leavied an armie in the yeare 817, and chased his brother Howel out of the ile of Môn or Anglesey, compelling him to flie into Man. Powel, p. 21, 22.

^b The Chronicles printed in the Myvyrian Archæology agree as to the date of this

In the year 876, the English entered the island, and fought a sore battle with the Welsh.

A. D. 900. Igmond, with a great number of soldiers, came to Anglesey, and the Welshmen gave them battle at Molerain.^c

About the year 915, the men of Dublin destroyed the island.

The modern edition of the Welsh Chronicle records a battle fought in Anglesey betwixt Howel Dha and Conan ap Edward Foel, wherein the latter fell.

A. D. 958. Abloic King of Ireland landed in Môn, and having burnt Holyhead, spoiled the country of Lhyn; and in the year 966, Aberfraw, the royal seat of the princes of North Wales, was destroyed by the Irishmen. In the year 969, Mactus, the son of Harold, entered Anglesey with an army of Danes,^d and spoiled Penmon,^e and shortly afterwards Godfryd, the son of Harold, did

battle, but differ somewhat in the names. It is there written Bangoleu, which means the clear height, Menegid is, perhaps, a corruption in the texts, as the Saxon Chronicle in the Archæology writes it Evegyd in Môn, a name equivalent to a plantation or nursery.

^c There be some Brytish copies of this historie, which affirme, that this battel betweene Igmond captaine of the blacke nations and the Brytaines, wherein Mervyn was slaine, was fought at a place called Meilon, of the which it was called Maes Rhos-Meilon. Powel, p. 42.

All the Chronicles in the Welsh Archæology, except the Saxon, make mention of Rhos Meilon, or the Moor of Meilon, of which the word Molerain is a corruption.

^d "These Danes were suffered to inhabite quietlie through all England, till they were so strong as the Englishmen, and then they fell to such riotousness and drinking, that much mischief insued thereof; whereupon Edgar made a law, that everie man should drinke by measure, and caused a certaine marke to be set in every pot how deepe they shoulde drinke, and so by these meanes he somewhat staied that immoderate ingurgitation." Powel, p. 62.

^e Penmon (where there was once a priory) is situated on the NE. point of the isle of Anglesey.

subdue to himself the whole isle of Anglesey, which he enjoyed not long. Powel, p. 62.

A. D. 979. At this time, Custenyn Dhu, that is, Constantine the Black, son to Iago (who was then prisoner), hired Godfryd, the son of Harold, with his Danes, against his cousin, and they both together destroyed Anglesey and Lhyn; whereupon Howel ap Jevaf gathered his army, and setting upon them at a place called Gwayth Hirbarth, overthrew them, and Constantine was slain; but in the year 986, Godfryd entered Anglesey a third time, and having taken Llywarch, the son of Owen, prisoner, together with two thousand men, he cruelly put out his eyes. In 989, the Danes taking advantage of Meredyth's absence in South Wales, landed in Anglesey, and ravaged the whole island. Powel, p. 65, 69, 71.

A. D. 1073. Gruffyth, son to Conan ap Iago, the rightful inheritor of the principality of North Wales, came over from Ireland with the succour which his brethren Encumalhon King of Ulster had delivered him, and he landed in Anglesey, and brought it to his subjection. Powel, p. 112.

In 1096, the island was attacked by Hugh de Mountgomery Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, and by Hugh Earl of Chester, the former of whom was killed by Magnus, as related by Giraldus in the text of this chapter.

The island seems to have enjoyed a long period of tranquillity till the year 1151, when Cadwalader, the brother of Owen Gwynedh Prince of North Wales escaped out of prison, and subdued part of the isle to himself; but his brother Owen sent an army against him, and chased him thence. In the year 1157, during the war between King Henry the Second and the Welsh, the navy of Owen Gwynedh,

under the command of Madoc ap Meredyth Prince of Powys, anchored off Anglesey, and put on land some soldiers, who spoiled two churches, and a little of the country thereabouts; but as they returned to their ships, the whole strength of the isle set upon them, and killed them all, so that none of those which robbed within the isle brought tidings how they sped. Powel, p. 203—207.

A. D. 1174. About this time, David ap Owen Gwynedh Prince of North Wales, made war against his brother Maelgon, who was in possession of the isle of Anglesey, and brought his people over Menai (for so that arm of the sea is called that separateth the island from the main land), and forcing his brother to fly to Ireland, brought all Anglesey to his subjection. Powel, p. 234.

A. D. 1193. Roderic, the son of Owen Gwynedh, by the help of Gothrike King of Man, entered Anglesey and conquered it; but before the end of the same year, the sons of his brother Conan drove him out of the island and got it themselves. Powel, p. 243.

In the year 1237, the death of Joan, daughter of King John, is thus recorded in the Welsh Chronicle. “ The next spring died Joan, daughter to King John, Princess of Wales, and was buried upon the sea shore within the isle of Anglesey, at Lhanvaes, as her pleasure was, where her husband (Prince Llewelyn ap Iorwerth) did build a house of bare-foot friars over her grave. Powel, p. 293.

A. D. 1245. King Henry the Third having failed in his military expedition against North Wales, and having lost a great number of his most worthy soldiers and nobility, sent for the Irishmen who landed in Anglesey, and spoiled a great part thereof, till the inhabitants gathered themselves together, and meeting with them heavily laden with spoil, drove them back to their ships. Powel, p. 310.

A. D. 1277. Prince Llewelyn was at length obliged to sue for peace, which King Edward the First granted, upon the following hard conditions: "That he should pay to the king, for his favour and good-will, 50,000 marks; that the cantref Ros, where the king's castle of Teganwy stood; the cantref Ryvonioc, where Denbigh is; the cantref Tegengl, where Ruthlan standeth, and cantref Dyffryn Clywd, where Ruthyn is, should remain to the king and his heirs for ever, and that the prince should pay yearly for the isle of Anglesey 1000 marks, which payment should begin at Michaelmas next ensuing, and that he should also pay 5000 marks out of hand, and if the prince died without issue, the island should revert to the king and his heirs. The prince was also required to come to England every Christmas to do homage to the king for his lands." ^f

The historian Carte has recorded the following anecdote on this occasion. "The barons of Snowdon, with other noblemen of the most considerable families in Wales, had attended Llewelyn to London, when he came thither at Christmas A. D. 1277, to do homage to King Edward; and bringing, according to their usual custom, large retinues with them, were quartered in Islington and the neighbouring villages. These places did not afford milk enough for such numerous trains; they liked neither wine nor the ale of London, and though plentifully entertained, were much displeased at a new manner of living which did not suit their taste, nor perhaps their constitutions. They were still more offended at the crowds of people that flocked about them when they stirred

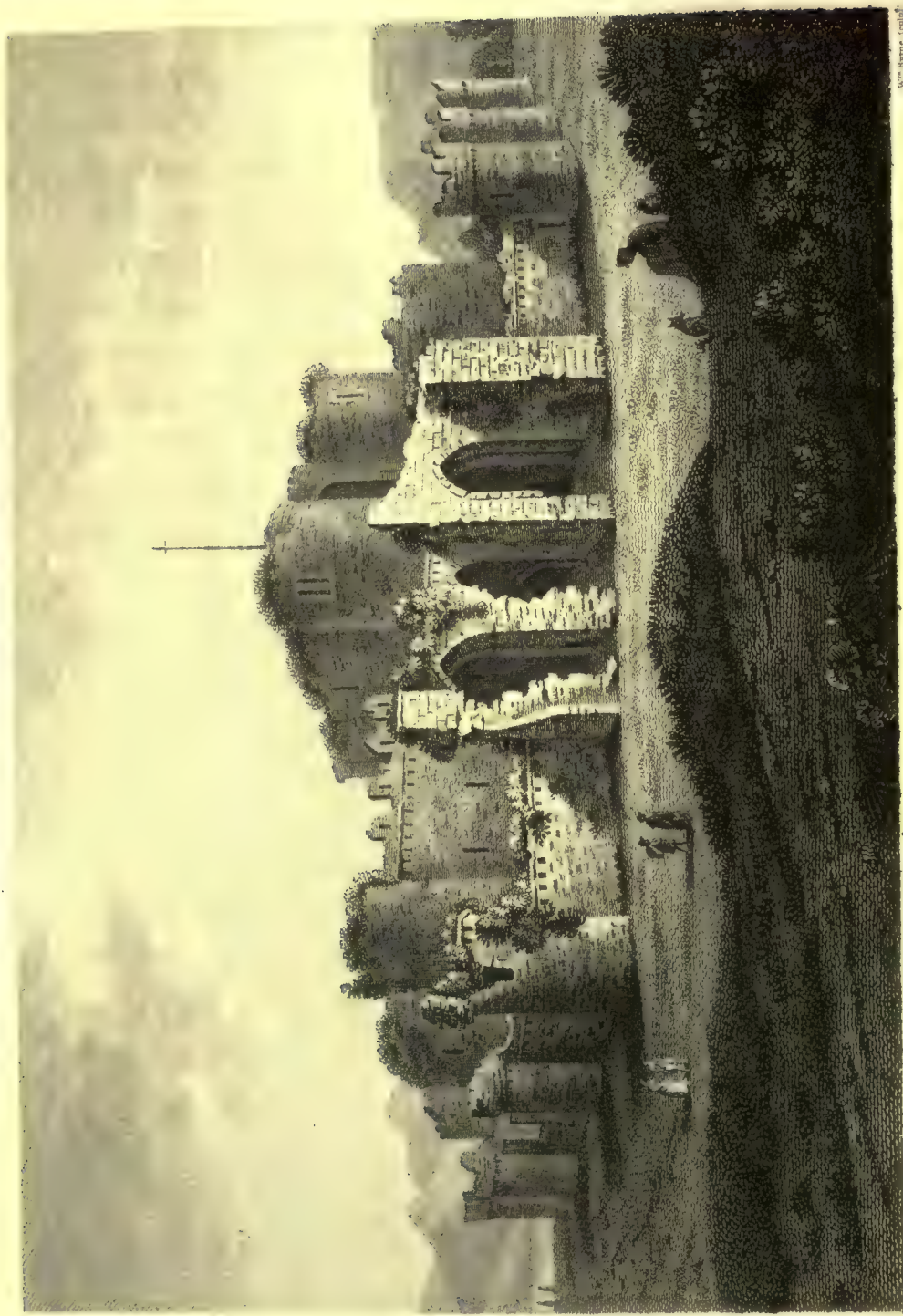
^f A copy of this agreement between King Edward and Llewelyn may be seen in Rymer's *Fœdera*, Tom. II. p. 88.

abroad,^g staring at them as if they had been monsters, and laughing at their uncouth garb and appearance: they were so enraged on this occasion, that they engaged privately in an association to rebel on the first opportunity, and resolved to die in their own country rather than ever come again to London, as subjects, to be held in such derision; and when they returned home, they communicated their resentments to their compatriots, who made it the common cause of their country."

In the year 1281, the Welsh, with Llewelyn and his brother David at their head, took up arms again; and Edward being now convinced that he could place no dependance upon them, as long as they had a prince to lead them, resolved to make an entire conquest of the country. He sent an army by sea to Anglesey which they won, and slew such as resisted them, but the chief men adhered faithfully to the king, according to the oath they had taken at the last peace. Then they came over against Bangor, where the arm of the sea called Menai is the narrowest, at a place called Moel y don,^h and there made a bridge of boats and planks over the water, on the same spot where Julius Agricola had done the like, when he subdued the Isle to the Romans. This bridge being accomplished, so that threescore men might well pass over in a front, William Latimer, with a great number of his best soldiers, and Luke de Thany with his Gascons and Spaniards (who were in the king's service), passed over the bridge, and there saw no stir of enemies: but as soon as the sea began to flow, down came the Welshmen from the hills, and set upon them fiercely, and either slew or chased them to

^g MS. No. 39 inter MSS. Mostyn, p. 302. Carte, Tom. II. p. 191.

^h The ferry is still continued at this same place.



Wm Byrne sculp

Sir Rich^d K. Barrow del

the sea to drown themselves ; for the water was so high, that they could not attain the bridge, saving William Latimer only, whose horse carried him to the bridge, and so he escaped.ⁱ But the death of Llewelyn in the same year, and the cruel execution of his brother David in the ensuing one, effectually checked the rebellious spirit of the Welsh, and secured to Edward the undisputed sovereignty of the principality.

This island, which in modern days deserves the epithets applied to it by Giraldus in this chapter,^k once bore a very different appearance. When attacked by the Roman general Suetonius, the sacred woods of the Druids were levelled to the ground : “ *Præsidium impositum victis, excisique luci, sævis superstitionibus sacri.*” At a much later period we find it well provided with trees, for in the year 1102 the Welsh Chronicle says, “ that Magnus landed in Anglesey, and hewed down as much timber wood as was needful for him.” Dreary as its outward aspect may seem to the traveller, it still contains many interesting objects of attention ; it is particularly rich in Druidical remains, the finest specimen of which is to be seen in the park of Lord Uxbridge, at Plâs Newydd. The Paris Mountains deserve the notice of the artist as well as the mineralogist ; for the majestic grandeur and effect of their excavations cannot be surpassed ; neither should the stately and well preserved castle at Beaumaris be overlooked, though inferior in point of situation to its rival brothers at Conwy and Caernarvon.^l The parish church

ⁱ Powel, p. 372.

^k *Est autem Mona arida tellus et saxosa, deformis aspectu et inamœna.*

^l This castle, according to Mr. Grose, was built by King Edward about the year 1295, who changed its name from Bonover to Beaumarais, which in French signifies a fine marsh.

is a handsome Gothic building, and contains some monuments worthy of notice: the most remarkable is that of a knight in armour recumbent, with a female by his side, well sculptured in alabaster; his head rests upon a helmet, and at his feet is a lion: the female is habited in a long robe richly ornamented round the neck; the hands of each are uplifted. Various small figures dressed like knights and monks decorate the pedestal of this tomb, which is said to have been brought from the religious house at Lhanvae at the time of its dissolution, but the personages whom it was designed to represent have not been ascertained. It now stands before the altar, with the feet of the figures placed towards it. On the right hand side of the altar is a large tablet inserted in the wall, bearing the following devices and inscriptions: the tablet is of an oblong form; at each corner near the top are two escutcheons, encircled with the motto of *HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE*; under the one on the left is this inscription: “*HENRICUS SYDNEY ORDINIS GARTERII, MILES PRÆSIDENS EX CONSILIIS MARCHIIS WALLIÆ, DOMINUS DEPUTATUS IN HIBERNIA.*” Under the other, *ANTONIUS SENTLEGER ORDINIS GARTERII, MILES, QUONDAM DEPUTATUS IN HIBERNIA*; round a circle in the centre, *GULIELMUS THWAYTES ARMIGER*; and beneath it in a straight line, *OBIIT 20 DIE JANUARI 1565.* At the lower corners are also two escutcheons: the one on the left has this motto, *FRANCISCUS AGARD EX CONSILIIS HIBERNIÆ*; the other on the right, *EDWARDUS WATERHOWS ME POSUIT*; and at the bottom is this inscription,

NOSCE TEIPSUM—FIDE ET TACITURNITATE—

I could not learn that any historical account was extant of this singular monument, nor on what occasion it was placed in Beau-

maris church. Neither could that indefatigable traveller, Mr. Pennant, gain any positive information about it.

Henry Sydney, in the second and third of Philip and Mary, was made general governor of all the king's and queen's revenues within the realm of Ireland, and about two years afterwards, lord justice thereof. In the second of Queen Elizabeth he was appointed lord president of the marches of Wales, and four years after was made knight of the garter. In 1568 he was constituted deputy of Ireland. He died at the bishop's palace in Worcester, A.D. 1586, and was conveyed from thence to his house at Penshurst in Kent, where he was most honourably interred. He was however previously embowelled: his entrails were buried in the dean's chapel in the cathedral church at Worcester; and his heart^m was brought to Ludlow and deposited in the same tomb with his dear beloved daughter Ambrosia, within the little oratory which he had made in the same collegiate parish church. The historian Hollinshed has left a long and elaborate character of this celebrated personage; ⁿ from whom also I have been able to collect some information respecting two of the other persons mentioned in the tablet. The historian says, that at each several time he was sent deputy into Ireland, he was furnished with a new secretary. The first was Master Edward Waterhouse, now knighted, and one of his majesty's council in Ireland. The same author adds, " He made special choice of two worthy counsellors, whom for their faithfulness in counsel for the

^m An engraving of the urn containing the heart of Sir Henry Sydney may be seen in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 64, page 785: it bears this inscription, Her lith the harte of Syr Henrye Sydny, L. P. Anno Dom̃ni 1586.

ⁿ Hollinshed, p. 1552.

state, good will and friendship towards him, and for their integrity and sincerity every way, he entirely loved and assuredly trusted ; one of these was Master Francis Agard, whom he commonly called his “ *Fidus Achates*.”

Sir Anthony St. Leger was lord deputy of Ireland in the year 1539. He was succeeded first by Sir James Crofts, and afterwards by Fitz-Walter Earl of Sussex. When Sir Henry Sidney was recalled to this high office, Sir Anthony St. Leger was appointed as his coadjutor and stationed in Munster with the title of Lord President of that province. I can gain no biographical information respecting Gulielmus Thwaytes, the æra of whose death is recorded on this tablet.

Before I conclude my sketch of Anglesey, I must not forget to mention, that those who wish to see the magnificent range of Snowdonian mountains to advantage, must view them from this coast.

Hugh Earl of Chester—The first earl of Chester after the Norman conquest was Gherbod a Fleming, who having obtained leave from King William to go into Flanders for the purpose of arranging some family concerns, was taken and detained a prisoner by his enemies ; upon which the conqueror bestowed the earldom of Chester on Hugh de Abrincis, “ to hold as freely by the sword, as the king himself did England by the crown.”*

He remained steady to the cause of William Rufus during all his reign, and by his military skill and prowess, enlarged his territories

* *Gulielmus primus Hugonem cognomine Lupum, primum hæreditarium, et Palatinum Cestriæ comitem creavit, totumque hunc comitatum tenendum sibi, et hæredibus, ità liberè ad gladium, sicut ipse rex tenebat Angliam ad coronam, dedit. Camden, Cheshire, p. 470.*

in Wales, winning the province of Tegengl and Ryvonioc,^p with all the land by the sea-shore unto the river of Conwy.

In the year 1096, he leagued with Hugh Earl of Shrewsbury against the Welsh, and attacked the island of Anglesey, the particulars of which are thus related in the Welsh Chronicle. “ The year following being 1096, Hugh de Mountgomerie Earle of Arundell and Salopshurie, whom the Welshmen call Hugh Goch, that is to say, Hugh the Red-headed, and Hugh Vrâs, that is Hugh the Fat Earle of Chester, and a great number of nobles more, did gather a huge armie, and entred into North Wales, being thereto moved by certeine lords of the countrie. But Gruffyth ap Conan the prince, and Cadogan ap Blethyn, tooke the hilles and mountaines for their defense; bicause they were not able to meet with the Earles, neither durst they well trust their owne men. And so the Earles came over against the ile of Môn or Anglesey, where they did build a castell of Aberlhiennawc.^q Then Gruffyth and Cadogan did go to Anglesey, thinking to defend the ile, and sent for succour to Ireland: but they received verie small. Then the treason appeared, for Owen ap Edwyn (who was the prince’s cheefe counsellor, and his father-in-lawe, whose daughter Gruffyth had married, having himselfe also married Everyth the daughter of

^p Tegengl was a cantref of Gwyneth, and is now a part of Flintshire. Ryvonioc is now known by the name of Denbigh-land.

^q Castell Aber Lhenawg is a small square fort, with the remains of a little round tower at each corner. In the middle one stood a square tower. A foss surrounds the whole. A hollow way is carried quite to the shore, and at its extremity is a large mound of earth, designed to cover the landing. This fort was garrisoned so lately as the time of Charles I. when it was kept for the parliament by Sir Thomas Cheadle, but was taken by Colonel Robinson in 1645 or 6. It is situated on the coast between Lhanvaes and Penmon. Pennant, Tom. II. p. 249.

Convyn, aunt to Cadogan) was the cheefe caller of those strangers into Wales, who openlie went with all his power to them, and did lead them to the ile of Anglesey, which thing when Gruffyth and Cadogan perceived, they sailed to Ireland, mistrusting the treason of theire owne people. Then the Earles spoiled the ile, and slew all that they found there. And at the verie same time, Magnus, the sonne of Haroald, came with a great navie of ships towards England, minding to laie faster hold upon that kingdome than his father had done, and being driven by chaunce to Anglesey, would have landed there, but the Earles kept him from the land. And there Magnus with an arrowe stroke Hugh Earle of Salop in the face, that he died thereof, and suddenlie either part forsooke the ile, and the Englishmen returned to England, and left Owen ap Edwyn prince in the land, who had allured them thither," p. 156.

The character of this Earl of Chester has been thus drawn by Ordericus Vitalis. "*Hic non dapsilis sed prodigus erat; non familiam secum, sed exercitum semper ducebat. In dando vel accipiendo nullam rationem tenebat. Ipse terram suam quotidie devastabat, et plus aucupibus et venatoribus, quàm terræ cultoribus, vel cœli oratoribus applaudebat. Ventris ingluviei serviebat, unde nimiae crassicie pondere prægravatus, vix ire poterat. E pellicibus plurimam sobolem utriusque sexus genuit, quæ diversis infortuniis absorpta penè tota periit,*" p. 522. And in another place the same author adds, "*Hic nimirum amator seculi seculariumque pomparum fuit, quas maximam beatitudinem putabat esse portionem humanarum. Erat enim in militiâ promptus, in dando nimis prodigus, gaudens ludis et luxibus, mimis, equis, et canibus, aliisque hujusmodi vanitatibus. Huic maxima semper adherebat familia in*

quibus nobilium ignobiliumque puerorum numerosa perstrepebat copia. Cum eodem consule commorabantur viri honorabiles clerici et milites, quos tam laborum quam divitiarum gratulabatur esse suarum participes," p. 598.

He died in the year 1101, and was buried in the abbey of Saint Werburgh which he had founded at Chester.

Ynys Lenach—now known by the name of Priestholme island, bore also the title of Ynys Seiriol, from a saint who resided upon it in the sixth century. It is also mentioned by Dugdale and Pennant under the appellation of Insula Glannauch. The former has given in his *Monasticon*, Vol. II. p. 338, a recital of the grants made to this priory by Prince Llewelyn and his brother David, as well as the confirmation of them by King Edward the First,^r by which it appears that the abbey of Penmon, with its appurtenances, was granted and confirmed to the prior and canons of this island. This island is also said to have been the place of interment of Maelgwn Gwynedd, the founder of Penmon, Holyhead, and Bangor, and cotemporary with King Arthur. The fretum, which separates the island from the main land, is something more than half a mile across. The island is between half and three quarters of a mile long, and nearly of an oval form, precipitous, with an inclination to the north; the soil is rich, with a small portion of sand intermixed; it can boast of no buildings but a ruined tower, and of no inhabitants, but sheep and rabbits.

^r *Inspeximus autem cartam quam Lewelinus Princeps de Aberfrau, et Dominus Snowdon fecit Priori et Canonicis de insula Glannauch, in hæc verba. Noverit universitas vestra, nos pro salute animæ nostræ, et antecessorum nostrorum dedisse et concecisse, et hâc præsentî cartâ nostrâ confirmasse Priori et Canonicis de insulâ Glannauc, totam Abbadaeth de Penmon, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, &c.*

Alberic de Veer, or Vere—came into England with William the Conqueror, and as a reward for his military services, received very extensive possessions and lands, particularly in the county of Essex; he married Beatrix, daughter of Henry, Castellan of Bourbourg, by Sibille, daughter of Manasses Count of Ghisnes. Alberic, his eldest son, was great chamberlain of England in the reign of King Henry the First, and was killed, A. D. 1140, in a popular tumult at London. Henry de Essex married one of his daughters named Adeliza. He enjoyed, by inheritance, the office of standard bearer, and behaved himself so unworthily in the military expedition which King Henry undertook against Owen Gwynedh Prince of North Wales in the year 1157, by throwing down his ensign, and betaking himself to flight, that he was challenged for this misdemeanor by Robert de Mountford, and by him vanquished in single combat, whereby, according to the laws of his country, his life was justly forfeited; but the king interposing his royal mercy, spared it, but confiscated his estates, ordering him to be shorn a monk, and placed in the abbey of Reading.^s

There appears to be some biographical error in these words of Giraldus—"Filia scilicet Henrici de Essexia," for by the genealogical accounts of the Vere and Essex families, we find that Henry de Essex married the daughter of the second Alberic de Vere; whereas our author seems to imply, that the mother of Alberic the second was daughter to Henry de Essex.

^s A. D. 1163. Eodem anno Robertus de Montforde, cum Henrico de Essexia, de proditione regis, singulari certamine congregiens, victoriam reportavit. Quâ de causâ, Henricus notam infamiæ simul, et exhæreditationis jacturam incurrens, indulgentiâ pii regis, apud Radinghum, habitum monachalem suscepit. Matth. Paris, p. 99.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONWY RIVER—DINAS EMRYS.

ON our return to Bangor from Mona, we were shewn the tombs of Prince Owen and his younger brother Cadwalader,¹ who were buried in a double vault before the high altar, although Owen, on account of his public incest with his cousin-german, had died excommunicated by the blessed martyr Saint Thomas. The bishop of that see having been directed to seize a proper opportunity of removing his body from the church; we continued our journey on the sea-coast, confined on one side by steep rocks, and by the sea on the other, towards the river Conwy, which preserves its waters unadulterated by the sea.² Not far from the source of the river Conwy,³ at the

¹ Owen Gwynedh, the son of Gruffyth ap Conan, died in the year 1169, after a prosperous reign of thirty-two years, and was buried at Bangor. When Baldwin, during his progress, visited Bangor and saw his tomb, he charged the bishop (Guy Ruffus) to remove the body out of the cathedral, when he had a fit opportunity so to do, in regard that Archbishop Becket had excommunicated him heretofore, because he had married his first cousin, the daughter of Grono ap Edwyn, and that, notwithstanding he had continued to live with her till she died. The bishop, in obedience to the charge, made a passage from the vault through the south wall of the church underground, and thus secretly shoved the body into the churchyard. Hengwrt. MSS.

Cadwallader, the brother of Owen Gwynedh, died in the year 1172.

² The same vulgar opinion seems to have prevailed in the days of Giraldus respecting the river Conwy, as in more modern times has been held both to the river Rhone in Switzerland, and the river Dee in Merionethshire, one of which is said to continue

head of the Eryri mountain, which on this side extends itself towards the north, stands Dinas Emrys, the promontory of Ambrosius, where Merlin uttered his prophecies, whilst Vortigern was seated upon the bank. There were two Merlins; the one called Ambrosius, who prophesied in the time of King Vortigern, was begotten by a demon incubus, and found at Caermardyn, from which circumstance that city derived its name of Caermardyn, or the city of Merlin; the other Merlin, born in Scotland, was named Celidonus, from the Celidonian wood in which he prophesied; and Sylvester, because when engaged in martial conflict, he discovered in the air a terrible monster, and from that time grew mad, and taking shelter in a wood, passed the remainder of his days in a savage state. This Merlin lived in the time of King Arthur, and is said to have prophesied more fully and explicitly than the other. I shall pass over in silence, what was done by the sons of Owen in our days, after his death, or while he was dying, who, from the wicked desire of reigning, totally disregarded the ties of fraternity; but I shall not omit mentioning another event which occurred likewise in our days. Owen, son of Gruffyth, Prince of North Wales had many sons, but only one legitimate, namely, Jorwerth Trwyndwn, which in Welsh means flat-nosed, who had a son named Llewelyn. This young man, being only twelve years of age, began, during the period of our journey, to

its course unvaried through the lake of Geneva, and the other through the lake of Bala.

³ The river Conwy takes its rise far to the east of Snowdon, on a dreary range of mountains between Festiniog and Yspytty Evan, where there is a very large lake (inferior only in size to that of Bala), and which may be truly called the chief source of this river. In its course to Lanrwst, it forms many fine and precipitous cataracts.



Wm. Byrne del.

See also "The Great" 44

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molest his uncles David and Roderic, the sons of Owen by Christiana his cousin-german: and although they had divided amongst themselves all North Wales, except the land of Conan, and although David, having married the sister of King Henry the Second, by whom he had one son, was powerfully supported by the English; yet within a few years, the legitimate son, destitute of lands or money (by the aid of Divine vengeance) bravely expelled from North Wales those who were born in public incest, though supported by their own wealth and by that of others; leaving them nothing but what the liberality of his own mind, and the counsel of good men from pity suggested: a proof that adulterous and incestuous persons are displeasing to God.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER VIII.

DINAS Emrys—This singularly insulated hill, which still retains its ancient name, is situated at a short distance from the picturesque little village of Bedgelert, and near a beautiful lake called Llyn y Dinas, or the Lake of the Castle. It is far distant, however, from the source of the river Conwy, which rises on the opposite side of Snowdon. On its summit are the remains of a square fort, and on the western side, facing Bedgelert, there are traces of a long wall. An ancient British historian, Nennius, informs us that King Vortigern being deceived and threatened by the Saxons whom he had invited into Britain, was advised by his magicians to build a strong

fortress, to protect himself from their attacks. Having wandered over a large tract of country, without finding a suitable situation, they at last came to the province called Gwyneth, and on examination found a fit place amongst the mountains of Heriri, where the magicians ordered him to build, as being secure on that spot from the barbarians. Whereupon he collected workmen and every necessary material for building, all of which disappeared in one night: thrice he ordered them to be re-collected, and they as often vanished.^a

As we know that Vortigern retired to some part of the Snowdon mountains, it is very probable that Dinas Emrys was the spot selected for his fortress; for no situation could have been found better calculated for retirement or defence, as it fills up nearly the whole valley, and the steepness of its sides renders it very difficult of access.

Merlin—I have already in my annotations on Chapter VI. given an account of Merlin Sylvestris, or Merddin-Wyllt. The Merlin here mentioned was called Ambrosius, and according to the Cambrian Biography, flourished about the middle of the fifth century: he was a celebrated poet, well skilled in mathematics, and is reputed

^a Rex ad se invitavit omnes magos suos, ut ab eis interrogaret, quid faceret. At illi dixerunt, “ In extremos fines regni tui vade, ut arcem munitam construes, in quâ te defendas.” Postea verò rex cum magis suis quæsiturus perrexit, et per multas regiones, multasque provincias peragraverunt, et minimè quod quærebant reperientes, novissimè ad illam regionem quæ vocatur Guoienit pervenerunt; et illo lustrante in montibus Heriri (i. e. Snowdon); tandem in uno montium, locum in quo aptum erat arcem condere adeptus est. Et magi ad illum dixerunt “ arcem in illo loco fac, quia tutissima à barbaris gentibus in æternum erit.” Ipse verò artifices lapides et ligna congregavit; cum verò congregata esset omnis materia, in unâ nocte omnino ablata est tribusque vicibus jussit congregari, et nusquam comparuit. Nennius, p. 122.

to have been the architect of the work of Emrys, called by the English, Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain. There is a singular account of his construction of a house of glass, in which he went to sea, accompanied by the nine Cylveirdd Bards, of whom nothing was heard afterwards; whence the circumstances were ranked with the departure of Gavran and of Madog, under the appellation of the three disappearances from the isle of Britain. This Merddin was also distinguished as one of the three principal Christian bards of the isle of Britain; the other two were Merddin Wyllt, and Taliesin. Other authors say, that this reputed prophet and magician was the son of a Welsh nun, daughter of a King of Demetia, and born at Caermarthen, and that he was made King of West Wales by Vortigern, who then reigned in Britain. His prophecies, written in prose, were translated into Latin, and published by Geoffrey of Monmouth.^b

Owen Gwynedh (whose lineage I have before mentioned), “left behind him manie children gotten by diverse women, which were not esteemed by their mothers and birth, but by their prowes and valiantnesse.” By his first wife Gladus, the daughter of Llywarch ap Trahaern ap Caradoc, he had Jorwerth Drwyndwn, that is, Edward with the broken nose; for which defect, he was deemed unfit to preside over the principality of North Wales, and was deprived of his rightful inheritance, which was siezed by his brother David, and occupied for the space of twenty-four years. In the year 1194 Llewelyn son of the aforesaid Jorwerth, collecting together his

^b The only two editions I have seen of these prophecies are, 1. *Prophetia Anglicana, Merlini Ambrosii Britanni*, 12mo. Francofurti, 1603. 2. *The life of Merlin, sirnamed Ambrosius; his prophecies and predictions interpreted, &c.* 4to. London, 1641.

friends, claimed legal title to the sovereignty of North Wales, which had been unjustly usurped and held by his uncle David : on entering the country, the people willingly yielded, and took him for their lord, and thus he regained the principality of North Wales, without bloodshed, which he retained till the year of his death A. D. 1240, of which the following account is given in the Welsh Chronicle: " The yeare after Christ's incarnation 1240, Lhwelyn ap Jorwerth the most valiant and noble prince, which brought all Wales to his subjection, and had so often put his enimies to flight, and defended his countrie, enlarging the meares thereof further than they had beene manie yeares before, passed out of this transitorie life, and was honorablie buried at the abbeie of Conwey, after he had governed Wales well and worthilie fiftie and sixe yeares." Powel, p. 298.

Jorwerth Trwyndwn—Mr. Pennant supposes that this uunfortunate prince was buried in the churchyard of Pennant Melangell, whither, as to a sanctuary, he had fled from the persecutions of his brother David; and he attributes to him a rudely sculptured effigy of a warrior bearing a shield, on which was this inscription: HIC IACET ETWART.

This parish church is situated in a beautifully retired valley, about two miles from Langynnog, in Montgomeryshire. In its churchyard are two rude effigies; the one of a man bearing a shield over his breast, and the fragment of a sword in his left hand; but the inscription recorded by Pennant is quite obliterated. As the Welsh Chronicle neither mentions the time nor manner of his death, it is not improbable that he was killed near this place: and a tumulus on an adjoining hill, which still bears the name of Bwlch

Croes Jorwerth; or the pass of the cross of Jorwerth, may have been thrown over his remains, or erected to his memory.

The other effigy represents a female with hands uplifted as in the attitude of praying, and may perhaps commemorate Saint Melangell, the patroness of the church. According to the Cambrian Biography, she was the daughter of Cyvwlch, a distinguished saint, who flourished in the beginning of the sixth century. She is said to have been discovered in this solitary retreat by Brochwel Yscythrog, Prince of Powys, when a hare, which his hounds were pursuing, took refuge under the virgin's robe. The Prince having given her lands, desired her to build a sanctuary on the spot, which she did, and there ended her days. The story of the hare and saint are carved in wood on the frieze of the singing gallery.

Sir John Wynne, in his history of the Gwedir family, says that Jorwerth Drwndwn, or Edward with the broken nose, being put from the government of the principality, had assigned him for his part of his father's inheritance, the hundreds of Nanconwy and Ardydwy. He dwelled at the castle of Dolwyddelan, where it is thought credible his son Llewelyn the Great, or Prince Llewelyn, was born, whose mother was Maryed the daughter of Madog ap Meredydd Prince of Powys:

CHAPTER IX.

ERYRI MOUNTAINS.

I MUST not pass over in silence the mountains called by the Welsh Eryri, and by the English Snowdon, or Mountains of Snow, which gradually increasing from the land of the sons of Conan, and extending themselves northwards near Deganwy, seem to rear their lofty summits even to the clouds, when viewed from the opposite coast of Anglesey. They are said to be of so great an extent, that according to an ancient proverb, “ As Mona could supply corn for all the inhabitants of Wales, so could the Eryri mountains afford sufficient pasture for all the herds, if collected together:” Hence these lines of Virgil may be applied to them :

“ Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus,
Exiguâ tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet.”

And what is cropt by day, the night renews,
Shedding refreshful stores of cooling dews.

On the high part of these mountains are two lakes worthy of notice; the one has a floating island in it, which is often driven from one side to the other by the force of the winds; and the shepherds behold with astonishment their cattle whilst feeding, carried to the distant parts of the lake. A part of the bank naturally bound together by the roots of willows and other shrubs, may

have been broken off, and increased by the alluvion of the earth from the shore; and being continually agitated by the winds, which in so elevated a situation blow with great violence, it cannot reunite itself firmly with the banks. The other lake is noted for a wonderful and singular miracle; it contains three sorts of fish; eels, trout, and perch, all of which have only one eye, the left being wanting: but if the curious reader should demand of me the explanation of so extraordinary a circumstance, I cannot presume to satisfy him. It is remarkable also, that in two places in Scotland, one near the eastern, the other near the western sea, the fish called mullets possess the same defect, having no left eye. According to vulgar tradition, these mountains are frequented by an eagle, who perching on a fatal stone every fifth holiday, in order to satiate her hunger with the carcasses of the slain, is said to expect war on that same day; and to have almost perforated the stone by cleaning and sharpening her beak.



ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER IX.

THE mountains of Eryri, now better known by the name of Snowdon, form a very prominent feature in the natural history and topography of North Wales. The highest summit is called Y Wyddfa, or the Conspicuous, and appears in no situation so exalted as near Capel Cerrig, for which reason I selected that spot for my view.

Though confessedly the highest mountain in Wales, it is by no means the most picturesque in its form; for Cadair Idris, Moelwyn, and Arran in North Wales, and the Cadair Arthur near Brecknock in South Wales, present a far bolder outline.

In speaking of Caernarvonshire, the historian Camden gives the following account of this range of mountains.* “ But for the inner parts, nature has raised them far and wide into high mountains (as if she would condense here within the bowels of the earth, the frame of this island), and made a most safe retiring place for the Britons in time of war. For here are such a number of rocks and craggy places, and so many vallies incumbered with woods and lakes, that they are not only unpassable to an army, but even to light armed troops. We may very properly call these mountains the British Alps, for, besides that they are the highest in all the island, they are also no less inaccessible by reason of the steepness of their rocks, than the Alps themselves; and they all encompass one hill, which far exceeding the rest in height, does so towre its head aloft, that it seems, I shall not say to threaten the sky, but to thrust its summit into it. It harbours snow continually, being throughout the year covered with it, or rather with a hardened

* Interiora autem natura longè latèque montibus, quasi hic compages hujus insulæ visceribus terræ densaret, confertim extulit, receptaculumque Britannis tutissimum ingruente bello fecit; tot enim aspera, rupesque, tot convalles saltuosæ, stagnisque impeditæ interjectæ sunt, ut non modò exercitus, sed ne expediti quidem calles inveniant. Alpes, si placet, Britannicas meritò hos montes appelles, nam præterquam quòd totius insulæ maximi sunt, etiam incisis undique rupibus, non minùs quàm Alpes, præcipites; omnesque unum ambiunt, qui in medio vastè supereminens, ità caput effert, ut non cœlo minari, sed inserere juga videatur; quæ tamen nivibus sunt fida, toto enim anno, nive seu potiùs nivium senio canescunt; unde uno nomine omnes Britannis Craig Eriry, Anglis Snowdon, id est, utraque linguâ, niviferi montes vocantur.

crust of snow ;^b and hence the British name of *Kraig Eryr*, and the English one of *Snowdon*. Gibson's *Camden*, p. 794.

Our author mentions two lakes on the high parts of these mountains, the first of which, he says, has a floating island in it. On the left of the great road, leading from *Bedgelert* to *Caernarvon*, and before you come to the beautiful lake *Cywellyn*, there is a small pool, bearing the name of *Llyn y Dywarchen*, or the lake of the Sod ; and which, at the time I saw it, exhibited the same peculiarity mentioned, and rationally accounted for by *Giraldus* ; but its situation so little accords with the one here described, that I am inclined to think this is not the lake alluded to in the text, more particularly as I have been informed by some of the natives of these parts, that there is another lake bearing the same name on the heights between *Bedgelert* and *Festiniog*.

Mr. Pennant (but I know not from what authority) fixes the other lake at *Llyn y Cwn*, or the *Dog's Pool*, which, according to *Mr. Williams*,^c is the highest lake amongst these mountains.

^b Bishop *Gibson* remarks, that *Camden* was in this point misinformed, for generally speaking there is no snow on the mountain from the end of April to the middle of September ; some heaps excepted, which often remain near the tops of *Moel y Wyddfa* and *Carnedd Lhwelyn*, till the middle of June, ere they are totally wasted. Various derivations have been ascribed to the word *Eryri*, by which these mountains were in ancient times known. Some have deduced the word from *Eiry*, snow ; others from *Eryr*, eagle, a bird which has been known to frequent these heights ; but *Mr. Owen's* explanation of the word *Eryri*, signifying what is precipitated or thrown out violently, is so truly applicable to this broken chaos of mountains, that we need seek for no better signification of the word *Eryri*.

^c Author of *Observations on the Snowdon mountains*, 1802.

CHAPTER X.

DEGANWY—RUTHLAN—LANELWY—COLESHULLE.

HAVING crossed the river Conwy, or rather an arm of the sea, under Deganwy, leaving the Cistercian monastery of Conwy on the western bank of the river to our right hand, we arrived at Ruthlan, a noble castle on the river Cloyd, belonging to David, the eldest son of Owen, where, at the earnest instances of David himself, we were handsomely entertained that night.

There is a spring not far from Ruthlan, in the province of Tegen-gel,¹ which not only regularly ebbs and flows like the sea, twice in

¹ This ebbing spring in the province of Tengel, or Flintshire, has been placed by the annotator on Giraldus, at Kilken, which Humphrey Llwyd, in his Breviary, also thus mentions:—"In Tegenia is a well of a marvellous nature, which, being six miles from the sea, in the parish of Kilken, ebbeth and floweth twice in one day. Yet have I marked this of late, when the moon ascendeth from the east horizon to the south (at what time all seas do flow), that then the water of this well diminisheth and ebbeth." Pennant, as well as Camden, take notice of this same spring, under the title of Ffynnon Leinw, or the flowing well, and say that its ebbing quality had ceased.

I must dissent from Dr. Powel, in fixing the spring here mentioned at Kilken, a parish near Mold, and many miles distant from Ruthlan, and coincide with the opinion of the learned Camden, who says, that Giraldus alluded, with more probability, to a spring called Ffynnon Assav, to which the same phenomenon is attributed. Browne Willis also mentions a place called Capell Ffynnon Vair, or the chapel of St. Mary's Well, which stands in the township of Wickwar, about two miles SW. of St. Asaph, which in former days was held in great sanctity, and much resorted to. It was so denominated from a large spring or well, which lies near the west door, and is

twenty-four hours; but at other times frequently rises and falls both by night and day. Trogus Pompeius says, "that at Garamantum there is a spring which is hot and cold alternately by day and night."

Many persons in the morning having been persuaded to dedicate themselves to the service of Christ, we proceeded from Ruthlan to the small cathedral church of Lanelwy; from whence (the Archbishop having celebrated mass) we continued our journey through a country rich in minerals of silver, to the little cell of Basinwerk, where we passed the night. The following day we traversed a long quicksand, and not without some degree of apprehension, leaving the woody district of Coleshulle,² or hill of coal, on our right hand, where Henry the Second, who in our time, actuated by youthful and indiscreet ardour, made a hostile irruption into Wales, and presuming to pass through that narrow and woody defile, experienced a signal defeat, and a very heavy loss of men. He entered Wales three times with an army; first, North Wales at the above-mentioned place; secondly, South Wales, by the sea-coast of Glamorgan and Goer, penetrating as far as Caermardhin and Pencadair, and returning by Ellennith and Melenith; and thirdly, the country of Powys, near Oswaldestree; but in all these expeditions the king

handsomely walled about with freestone, and the water runs under the chapel from west to east. By the side of the well, there grows a sweet scented moss, much esteemed by pilgrims. Neither has this miraculous well escaped the notice of that intelligent and investigating traveller, Mr. Pennant, who thus speaks of it:—Ffynnon Vair, or our Lady's Well, a fine spring, inclosed in an angular wall, formerly roofed, and the ruins of a cross-shaped chapel, finely overgrown with ivy, exhibit a venerable view in a deep wooded bottom, not remote from the bridge over the Elwy.

² Coleshill is a township in Holywell parish, Flintshire, which gives name to a hundred, and was so called from its abundance of fossil fuel. Pennant, Vol. I. p. 42.

was unsuccessful, because he placed no confidence in the prudent and well-informed chieftains of the country ; but was principally advised by people remote from the marches, and ignorant of the manners and customs of the natives. In every expedition, as the artificer is to be trusted in his trade, so the advice of those people should be consulted, who by a long residence in the country, are become conversant with the manners and customs of the natives ; and to whom it is of high importance that the power of the hostile nation, with whom, by a long and continued warfare, they have contracted an implacable enmity and hatred, should be weakened or destroyed, as we have set forth in our prophetic history.

In this wood of Coleshulle, a young Welshman was killed while passing through the king's army ; the greyhound who accompanied him did not desert his master's corpse for eight days, though without food ; but faithfully defended it from the attacks of dogs, wolves, and birds of prey, with a wonderful attachment : What son to his father ? What Nisus to Euryalus ? What Polynices to Tydeus ? What Orestes to Pylades, would have shewn such an affectionate regard ? As a mark of favour to the dog, who was almost starved to death ; the English, although bitter enemies to the Welsh, ordered the body, now nearly putrid, to be deposited in the ground with the accustomed offices of humanity.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER X.

THE crusaders pursuing their journey along the sea coast, crossed the æstuary of the river Conwy under Deganwy, a fortress of very remote antiquity, and by some authors supposed to have been the Station Dictum; where under the late emperors, the commander of the Nervii Dictenses kept guard. The first mention made of it in the Welsh Chronicle is in the year 810, when it was destroyed by thunder, during the reign of Conan Tindaethwy. In the year 1210 the Earl of Chester re-edified the castle of Deganwy, which stood upon the sea shore, east of the river Conwy, which Prince Llewelyn had before destroyed: and in the following year, King John, entering North Wales by Chester, came along the sea coast to Ruthlan, and passing over the river Clwyd, came to the castell of Deganwy, and there remained awhile; but Llewelyn cut off his victuals behind him, so that he could have none from England, and there could not a man scatter from the skirmishes unfought withall; where the North Wales men alwaies, both for the advantage of the straights, and knowledge of the places, had the upper hand. At the last the English souldiours were glad to taste horsse flesh for pure neede. Then when the king saw no remedie, he returned home in great rage, leaving the countrie full of dead bodies." Powel, p. 264. In the year 1245, we find from the same chronicle that Deganwy bore the name of Gannock, and that King Henry the Third experienced great distress at this place. "Of this viage a certeine nobleman,

being then in the kinge's campe, wrote thus to his freends about the end of September, 1245 :"

" The king with his armie lieth at Gannock, fortifieng of that strong castell, and we lie in our tents thereby, watching, fasting, praieng, and freezing with cold ; we watch for feare of the Welshmen, who are wont to invade and come upon us in the night time. We fast for want of meat, for the halfpenie loafe is worth five pence ; we praie to God to send us home againe speedilie ; we starve for cold wanting our winter garments, and having no more but a thin linnen cloath betwixt us and the wind. There is an arme of the sea under the castell where we lie, whereto the tide commeth, and manie ships come up the haven thither, which bring victuals to the campe from Ireland and Chester. This arme of the sea lieth betwixt us and Snowdon, where the Welshmen abide now, and is about a flyght shoote over when the tide is in." Powel, p. 311.

In the year 1262 it is spoken of as a royal castle of King Edward, and rased by Prince Llewelyn. After the final subjection of Wales, and the incorporation of it with England by the statute made at Ruthlan an. 12 Edw. I. we hear no more mention made of Deganwy. The stately edifice of Aberconwy Castle supplied its place, and together with that of Caernarvon on one side, and Beaumaris on the other, put an effectual bar to any hostile designs of the Welsh nation. Some trifling ruins of walls and foundations are still extant of the ancient fortress of Deganwy.

Conwy—Though the archbishop and his suite did not pass through Conwy, but on the opposite side of the river ; I hope I may be allowed to make a short digression to an abbey once so celebrated in the annals of Welsh history. At this period the Cistercian



Wm. Turner del.

Sir Robert Barr, del.

monastery of Conwy was in its infancy, for its foundation has been attributed to Lhwelyn ap Jorwerth in the year 1185 (only three years previous to Baldwin's visitation), who endowed it with very extensive possessions and singular privileges. Dugdale has preserved a copy of the original grant of lands, &c. made to this abbey, by which the founder exempts it not only from the customary entertainment of strangers, but also of himself and his attendants.

“ Concessi insuper ejusdem monachis, quod liberi sint in perpetuum et quieti ab omnibus pastibus et poturis hominum, equorum, canum, et avium, et non compellantur ad pascendum me aut ministros meos, aut alios quoscumque seculares sub obtentu consuetudinis, &c. &c.”

When King Henry in the year 1245 was encamped at Deganwy, the English troops, in one of their hostile excursions, “ spoiled the abbey of Conwy, burning all the houses of offices belonging to the same; which doings caused the Welshmen to come together, who like desperate men set upon the English soldiours being loden with spoiles, and slew a great number of them, following the rest to the water side, of whom some gat to the boates and so escaped, and some cast themselves into the water, and were drowned, and such as they tooke they hanged or headed everie one.” Powel, p. 312.

Like Stratflur, this abbey was the repository of the national records, and the mausoleum of many of its princes.

In the year 1200 Gruffyth son to Conan ap Owen Gwyneth was buried in the abbey of Conwy.*

In the year 1216 Howel ap Griffyth ap Conan died, and was buried at Conwy.

* A. D. 1200. Gruffyth, sonne to Conan ap Owen Gwyneth, a nobleman, died, and

In the year 1230 Maelgon son of Prince Llewelyn died, and was buried at Conwy.

In the year 1240 the valiant and noble Prince Llewelyn ap Iorwerth was buried in the abbey of Conwy.^b

“ In the year 1246 David ap Llewelyn Prince of Wales, after he had gotten the love of his subjects, and atchieved manie notable victories, passed out of this life, and was buried at Conwy by his father, after he had ruled Wales five yeares.”^c

The din of arms ill according with the austere and solitary profession of the Cistercian order of monks, they retired to a place called Maynan on the banks of the river Conwy in the year 1289, where in addition to the many privileges they before enjoyed, the king gave them the patronage of their former church at Conwy.

was buried in a monk's cowle at the abbey of Conwy, and so were all the nobles (for the most part) of that time buried ; for they were made to beleve by the monks and friers, that that strange weed was a sure defense betwixt their soules and hell, how so ever they died. Powel, p. 253.

^b The character of this prince is given at the end of my Annotations on Chapter VIII.

^c In the year 1249 the abbots of Conwy and Stratflur made suit to the king for the body of Gruffyth ap Llewelyn, which he granted unto them, and they conveyed it to Conwy where he was honourably buried. This prince was taken prisoner by his brother David, and delivered up to the king, who confined him in the tower of London, from which endeavouring to escape, he broke his neck. The circumstance is thus recorded in the Welsh Chronicle: “ When Gruffyth saw how all things went, and that he was not like to be set at libertie, he began to devise waies and meanes to escape out of prison. Wherefore deceiving the watch one night, he made a long line of hangings, coverings and sheetes, and having gotten out of a window, let downe himselfe by the same from the top of the towre ; but by reason that he was a mightie personage and full of flesh, the line brake with the weight of his bodie, and so falling downe headlong of a great height, his necke and head was driven into his bodie with the fall, whose miserable carcase being found the morrowe after, was a pittifull sight to the beholders.” Powel, p. 307.

Richard ap Rice was the last abbot at the time of its dissolution, and had a pension allowed him of £20. per annum.

Ruthlan—The castle of Ruthlan was deemed one of the most important fortresses in Wales ; it was often taken and retaken, and experienced frequent vicissitudes of fortune. I find this place first mentioned in the year 795, as the spot where a signal battle was fought between the Saxons and Welsh, in which Caradoc King of North Wales was slain. On this occasion a celebrated plaintive air was composed, called *Morva Rhuddlan*, or the Red Marsh, and is still played with enthusiasm by the national harpers ; but the original poem, commemorating this battle, no longer exists.

Camden supposes that the first fort was built by Llewelyn ap Sitsylht, who reigned from the year 1015 to 1020, and that a tumulus, still existing, at some distance from the present castle, formed a part of it.

Mr. Pennant, from the life of Gruffydh ap Conan in the Sebright MS. quotes the following passage : “ It was a residence of our princes from that time, but Gruffydh ap Llewelyn in 1063 having given offence to Edward the Confessor, by receiving Algar, one of his rebellious subjects, was attacked by Harold, who in revenge, burned the palace at Rhuddlan. It was soon restored, and as soon lost. Robert de Rhuddlan, a valiant Norman, nephew to Hugh Lupus, conquered it from the Welsh, and by the command of William the Conqueror, fortified it with new works, and made it his place of residence. Robert received here a visit from Prince Gruffydh ap Kynan, who came to solicit aid against his enemies from the Norman warrior, which he obtained ; but on some

quarrel attacked him in his castle, took and burnt the bailey or yard, and killed such a number of his men, that very few escaped into the tower."

King Henry the Second after his defeat at Coed Eulo in Flintshire A. D. 1157, retired to Ruthlan, fortified the castle, and gave the government of it to Hugh de Bello-campo, or Beauchamp.

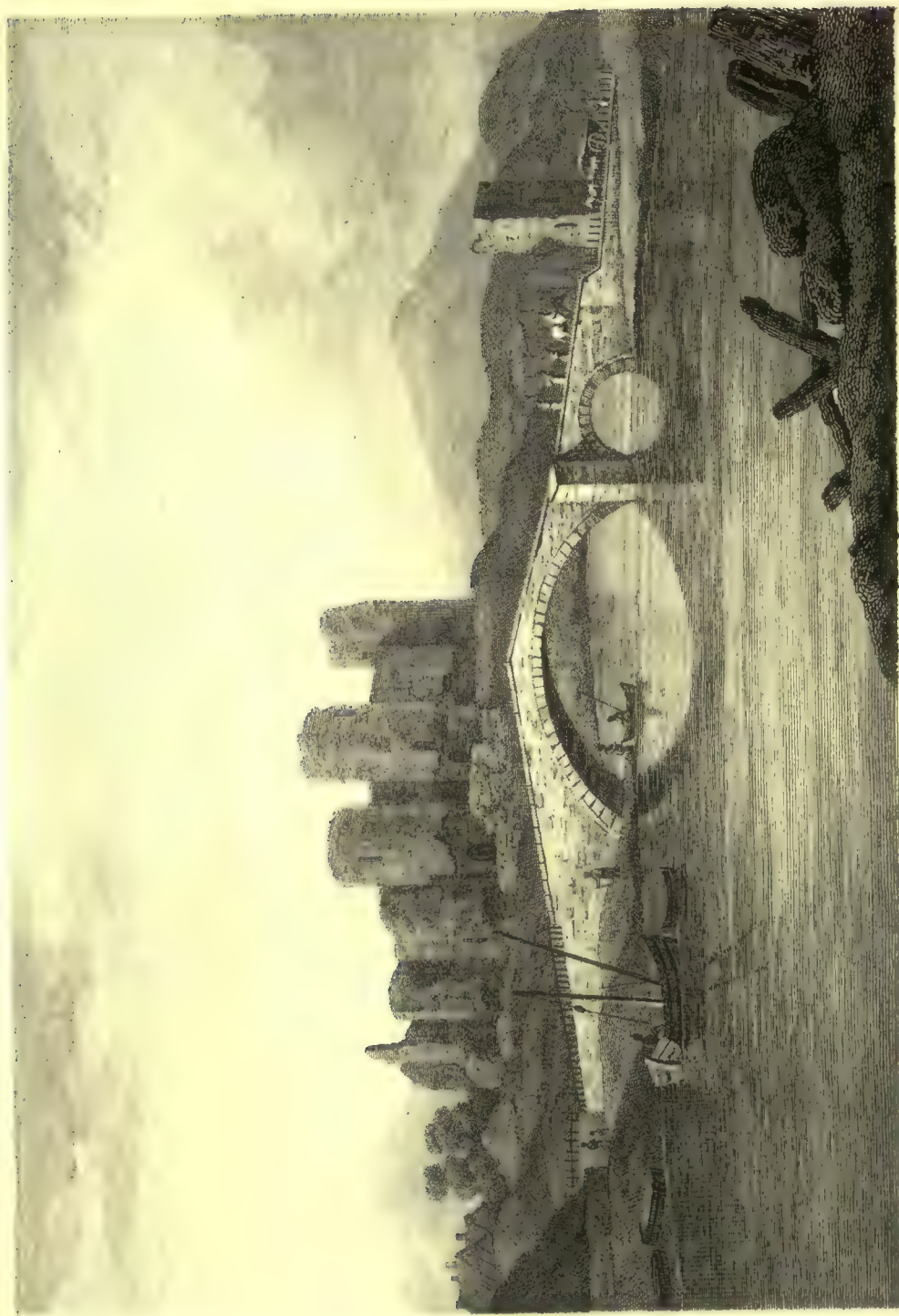
"In the year 1167 Owen Gwyneth Prince of North Wales, Cadwalader his brother, and Rees Prince of South Wales laid siege to the castell of Ruthlan, which the king had latelie built and fortified, which the garrison defended manfullie and worthilie; yet the princes would not depart until they had won it, which they did at two moneths ende, and then rased it." Powel, p. 224.

In the year 1214, during the reign of King John, it was besieged and taken by Lhwelyn ap Jorwerth.

In the year 1277, King Edward the First came to Ruthlan and fortified the castle, and in 1281 Prince Lhwelyn with his brother David laid siege to it, but retired on the approach of the royal army. After the treacherous death of the former unfortunate prince, when the king had accomplished the subjection of Wales; the natives brought David unto him, whom he kept prisoner for some time in Ruthlan castle, and afterwards put to death at Shrewsbury.

A parliament was held at Ruthlan, and a statute issued by King Edward in the twelfth year of his reign, called "*Statutum Walliæ*," which may be seen at length in the appendix to the Statutes at Large, vol. 9.

In the year 1399 this castle was seized by the Earl of Northumberland, previous to the deposition of King Richard the Second,



2

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who dined here in his way to Flint Castle, from whence he was carried prisoner to London.

A considerable part of this ancient castle is still standing; its form is irregular: the inner area approaches nearest to an octagon; the entrances were at the north-west and south-east sides; the towers round; three of which, on the north-west side, remain tolerably entire: three sides were fortified by a deep fosse, walled; the fourth side, viz. the north-west, sloping down towards the river, was defended by a high wall and square turrets, one of which remains, and the fragment of another.

The town of Ruthlan is situated near the banks of the river Clwyd, which is navigable for small vessels; over it is a bridge of two arches, which, from the date of 1595, and the arms of the see of Saint Asaph, cut in the battlements, appears to have been either repaired or rebuilt in the time of Bishop Hughes.

Camden says, " At Rhudlan (though it be now a mean village) we find the manifest signs of a considerable town, as of the abbey and hospitals, and of a gate, at least half a mile from the village; one of the towers in the castle is called *Twr y Brenin*, or the King's Tower, and below the hill upon the bank of the river we find another apart from the castle, called *Twr Silod*."

Bishop Tanner informs us, that there was here a house of black friars before the year 1268, when Anian de Schonan, its prior, was made Bishop of Saint Asaph. It suffered much in the wars between King Edward the First, and Llewelyn ap Gruffydh the last Prince of Wales, but recovered, and subsisted till the dissolution, when it was granted to Henry ap Harry, 32 Hen. 8. The same author adds that there was an hospital near Ruthlan, as old as A. D. 1281.

The crusaders were received at Ruthlan by David ap Owen, who (as I have before related) had forcibly seized the lawful inheritance of his brother-in-law, Jorwerth Drwyndwn.

Lanelwy—Saint Asaph, in size, though not in revenues, may serve the epithet of “ paupercula” attached to it by Giraldus. From its situation near the banks of the river Elwy, it derived the name of Lanelwy, or the church upon the Elwy. Its foundation is attributed to Kentigern (called in the Scottish histories St. Mungo), who, being driven from his episcopal see at Glasgow, about the year 543, is reported to have fled to Saint David at Menevia, where residing for some time, Cathwallain Prince of Wales assigned him a place for a monastery near the river Elwy, where he fixed an episcopal see, over which he presided till the year 560, when, being recalled to his native country of Scotland, he resigned the bishopric to one of his disciples named Asaph. He at first built a church of wood and lime, but afterwards renewed it of stone, although he was therein much hindered and molested by a certain prince named Malgo, or Maglocun, whose dwelling was six miles thence at Deganwy; but afterwards being assuaged, he permitted him to place there an episcopal see, on which he bestowed both ample possessions and privileges. There were assembled in that monastery, no fewer than 965 brethren, who all lived under monastic discipline, serving God with great abstinence, of which 300 who were illiterate, he appointed to tilling of the ground, and guard of the cattle out of the monastery: other 300 he assigned for preparing nourishment, and performing other necessary works within the monastery, and 365, who were learned, he deputed to the celebrating of divine offices daily, not any of which without great necessity

he would permit to go out of the monastery, but ordained them to remain there continually, as in God's sanctuary. And this part of the convent he divided so into troops and companies, that when one had finished the service of God in the church, another presently came in and began it again; which being ended, a third without any delay entered. By these means prayers were offered in that church without any intermission, and the praises of God were always in their mouths. Among them there was one named Asaph, more especially illustrious for his descent and form, who from his childhood shone brightly both with virtues and miracles, and daily endeavoured to imitate his Master in all sanctity and abstinence. To him the man of God bore ever after a particular affection, and committed the care of the monastery to his prudence, and, in conclusion, appointed him his successor in the bishopric.

A still more detailed life of Saint Kentigern is given by Pinkerton in his *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, which, referring to the foundation of the cathedral church of St. Asaph, I shall insert as a curious document. This Saint having fled for protection from his enemies in Scotland to Saint David at Menevia, could not rest till he had found a fit place to build a fit tabernacle to our Lord. “*Circuivit ergò terram, et perambulavit eam, explorans situs locorum, qualitates aeris, glebæ ubertatem, pratorum et pascuarum ac sylvarum sufficientiam, et cætera quæ expectant ad Monasterii ædificandi commoditatem. Cumque simul pergerent et per abrupta montium, per concava vallium, per defossa terrarum, per condensa veprium, et per opaca nemorum, per planicies saltuum, incedentes, sermocinarentur quæ ad præsens spectabat negotium; ecce singularis ferus aper, videlicet de sylvâ, candidus per totum, obviam processit, et ad*

pedes Sancti accedens, caput agitans, aliquamtulum progrediens, et iterum gradum figens, et retrospiciens, gestu quo potuit, Sancto, et sociis ejus, ut illum sequerentur, annuit. Quo viso, ammirantes glorificaverunt in creaturis suis mira et inscrutabilia operantem, et è vestigio sequebantur ductorem suum perambulantem aprum. Cum autem pervenisset ad locum quem eis Dominus prædestinaverat, aper substitit: terramque crebro pede percutiens, et dente protenso cespitem cujusdam colliculi inibi constituti viscerare gestiens, caput iterum atque iterum concutiendo, et ore gruniendo, illum esse locum illis à Deo præparatum et designatum, cunctis liquidò ostendit. Est autem locus super ripam fluminis constitutus, quod Elgu vocatur, &c. Tunc Sanctus flexis genibus gratias agens, omnipotentem Dominum adoravit, surgensque ab oratione, in nomine Domini locum et circumjacentia benedixit. Ac deinde in testimonium et signum Salutis, et auspicium futuræ Religionis, ibidem Crucem figens, tentoria fixit."

Saint Asaph, a disciple of Kentigern, from whom the episcopal see has derived its name, succeeded to the bishopric, and died A. D. 596. After his decease we have no certain records of his successors for the long term of five hundred years. A bishop, by the name of Chebur, accompanied Howel Dha to Rome, and another was present at the synod held in Worcestershire by Saint Augustin in the year 603. Gilbert (though omitted by Godwin in his chronological series) is said to have been consecrated A. D. 1143, and to have presided over the see for eight years. To him succeeded Geoffrey, sur-named Arthur, who was consecrated A. D. 1151, from whom the series continues uninterrupted to the present day.

Adam, elected to this see, and consecrated A. D. 1175, had a long

controversy about the church of Keri in Montgomeryshire, in 1176, which he endeavoured to wrest from the see of Saint David's, and unite to his own at Saint Asaph. The spirited conduct of his opposer Giraldus on this occasion, and the curious circumstances attending the dispute, have been fully detailed in the life of our Author.

Reyner, consecrated A. D. 1186, by Archbishop Baldwin, assisted him in promoting the holy cause of the crusades. The Welsh bishops, siding with their countrymen against King Henry, had their bishoprics and churches so spoiled, that they were forced to live on the charity of others. The Bishop of Bangor retired to the monastery of St. Alban's in Hertfordshire, and lived with the lord abbot there, till his revenues and jurisdiction were restored to him. Howel ap Ednevet, the Bishop of Saint Asaph, found an asylum in Osney Abbey in Oxfordshire, where he died, and was buried in 1247.

In the time of Anian the Second, surnamed de Schonaw, who was Confessor to King Edward the First, the cathedral church was burned to the ground, A. D. 1282; on which occasion he endeavoured to remove the episcopal see to Ruthlan, where the king, besides ground to build upon, promised a thousand marks towards the edifice. Letters were written to Pope Martin the Fourth to procure leave for this translation; but either the pope's death, or the circular letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, exhorting the bishop and canons to rebuild their church, prevented its removal. Browne Willis, in his Appendix to the History of St. Asaph, No. VI. p. 155, has inserted the king's letter, written in the year 1283, on this occasion; wherein he states, that he had lately built a town at Rodelan within the diocese of St. Asaph, in a spacious and safe

situation, to which a great concourse of the Welsh and English inhabitants of the diocese resorted, that the cathedral church of St. Asaph, distant from thence about two English leagues, was placed in a solitary and champaign spot, that its canons were neither protected by fortresses, nor comforted by the society of any neighbouring people; exposed, together with the body of their Saint, to the continual incursions of robbers and pirates; and the place subjected to so many inconveniences, that even on the most solemn feast-days, the dignitaries of the church had no audience, and spake to the very stones. Having thus forcibly displayed the melancholy situation of the episcopal see, he asks the Pope's consent to translate it to Rodelan, a place, according to his own words), "*Insignior locus hujusmodi totius diocesis Assavensis,*" and concludes by saying, "That if the pope knew the inconveniences of the one, and the conveniences of the other situation, he would entreat them, even against their will, to remove the see from St. Asaph to Ruthlan.—"*Scimus etenim quod si summus Pontifex commoditates et incommoditates loci cognoscerit utriusque, nos ad faciendum quod petimus, allectivis precibus invitaret, etiam si nollemus.*"

In the year 1284 King Edward granted the advowson of the church of Ruthlan to Anian, in consideration of his having given that of Eglwys-y-vach to the monastery of Aberconwy, lately removed to Maynan.—About this time the cathedral was probably rebuilt.

In the year 1402, during the episcopacy of John Trevaur the Second, the cathedral, palace, and residentiary houses were burned by Owen Glendwr. The ancient record of this event is preserved by

Browne Willis in his Appendix.—“ Henri by the grace of God king of Englande and of Fraunce, and lord of Irland, to the worshipful fadre in God, the bishop of Bath our chauncellor greting. We late you wite that we havying consideration howethe chirch cathedrall of Saint Asaph with the steple, bells, quere, porch and vestiary, with all other contentis, bokes, chaliz, vestimentis, and other ornaments, as the bokes, stalles, desks, altres, and all the aparail longying to the same church, was brent and utterly destroyed, and in likewys the byshop's palays, and all his other three mannoirs no styk laft in the last werre tyme of Wales; as we bene enformed by a supplication presented to us in the behalve of the reverend fadre in God our right trusty and well beloved Johan Lowe now bishop of the sayd cathedral chirche; and it is so as it is saide, that both for the exilitee of th' endowing of the sayd cathedral chirche, with th' indisposition of the countree there, and also for lack and scarcetee of stuffee in all the coste both of freestone and tymber, the said palays and mannoirs be not like to be belded again withouten our grace be shewed in that partie, notwithstanding that Robert (Lancaster) late bishop of the said chirche cathedrall, and the saide Johan now a bishop, have putte their great peyne and diligence to amend suche parcels of the saide palays and mannoirs as he now reparellled.

“ Wherefore we havynge consideration unto the premisses, have of our grace especiale graunted unto the sayde Johan now byshop of the sayde cathedrall chirche, that he from hensforth be quite and fully discharged against us and our heirs of all manour dismes and quinzismes, and parcells of dismes and quinzismes, that have been and shall be granted unto us or our heirs by the clergie of this our

royaume ; and of paying unto us or to our said heires the said dismes or quinzismes or parcells of dismes and quinzismes, of the which the saide Johan hath, be, or shall be grauntez, with other prelates of this our royaume—Wherefore we will and charge you, that hereupon ye do make lettres patentes under our grete seal in due forme

“ Geven under oure privie seal at oure Castell of Wyndesore the xxiii day of Juyly, the yere of our regne xxi. A. D. 1442.”

The cathedral appears to have remained in its desolate and ruined state (the walls only standing), till the time of Bishop Redman, who was consecrated A. D. 1472. He repaired the walls, new roofed the church, and made the east window, and stalls in the choir, as may be seen to this day, by his arms yet remaining in divers parts of the fabric, and on the episcopal throne.

David ap Owen, promoted to this bishopric A. D. 1503, rebuilt the episcopal palace, which had lain in ruins for an hundred years, and made a bridge of timber over the river Clwyd, about a quarter of a mile N. E. of St. Asaph, known at this day, by the name of Pont Davydd Escob, or Bishop David's Bridge, which, becoming ruinous, was in the year 1630 rebuilt at the county charge.

Henry Standish, consecrated A. D. 1518, gave 40*l.* to pave the choir of St. Asaph, with which, as tradition reports, the organs were bought, and his executors sued, for not having adhered to the letter of his will.

Robert Wharton or Parfew, consecrated A. D. 1536, impoverished the see so much by letting out the lands belonging to the bishopric on long leases, that of five episcopal palaces, viz. Saint Asaph, Altmeliden, Landegla, Nannerch, and Saint Martin's,

he is said to have left only the former to his successors; thus imitating the conduct of his predecessor Bishop Barlow at Saint David's.

He is described by Wharton as, "*Pessimus sedis suæ episcopalis dilapidator; ex quinque domibus satis lautis, quas episcopi Assavenses antea possiderunt, unicam, quæ apud Assaviam sita est, successoribus suis transmisit.*"

The next benefactor to this cathedral was Bishop Owen, consecrated A. D. 1629, who in the year 1631 made a new pulpit of wainscot, fixed seats for the convenience of the audience, and new built and beautified the episcopal throne; and in 1634, at his own cost and charges, erected a new building adjoining his palace, on the eastern side towards the garden, and the next year put up the great and new organ in the cathedral, which was brought from London in the beginning of October, and played upon; on which occasion this distich was made:

“ Magna silet campana, sonant tamen organa, Sancti
Asaphensis, honos, gloria, lausque Deo.”

About the beginning of the year 1638, he caused the way between the cathedral and parish church to be paved, and at the latter end of the year, the steeple and belfrey of the cathedral were repaired, and new made with boards, and the frame of the bells re-edified, as was the school-house or loft in the lower end of the parish church.

In consequence of the anarchy and confusion that attended the great rebellion in 1641, this cathedral was most profanely desecrated by one Milles, who held the post-office and lived in the

bishop's house, selling wine and other liquors there; he kept horses and oxen in the body of the church, and fed calves in the bishop's throne, and other parts of the choir; he also removed the font into his yard, set it in the ground, and made use of it for a hog trough.

In the years 1648, 1649, and 1650 various manors and lordships belonging to the see were sold to the amount of £5297. 2s. 9½d.

Bishop Barrow, translated to St. Asaph A. D. 1669, repaired several parts of the cathedral church, especially the north and south isles, and new covered them with lead; he caused the east part of the choir to be wainscotted, and laid out a considerable sum of money in building and repairing the palace, and the mill belonging thereto. In 1678 he built an alms-house, and in the same year procured an act of parliament for uniting several sinecures, and appropriating livings for the repairs and better maintenance of his cathedral church, which before his time subsisted totally upon contributions; he also bequeathed £200. towards a free-school which he intended to have founded.

Bishop Fleetwood, consecrated A. D. 1708, paved a great part of the church at his own expense with broad stone, and laid out about £100. in adorning and painting the choir.

During the episcopacy of John Wynne, consecrated A. D. 1714, nearly four hundred pounds were expended on the cathedral. The top of the tower was leaded, and the upper part of the steeple put into good repair, after a breach occasioned by a storm on the second of February 1714, that blew down the top of the steeple, which fell into the choir, and did much damage to the roof, organs, and seats.



See Book 4 Chapter 441

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This cathedral, though a small building, is well kept, and bears a neat appearance; it has lately received a very conspicuous and additional decoration in a fine window of painted glass, executed by the late worthy and ingenious artist Mr. Egginton of Handsworth near Birmingham. Like Bangor, it is poor in monumental antiquities, for it contains only one sepulchral effigy, supposed to be that of David ap Owen, who died bishop of the see in the year 1512.

Basinwerk—Leaving Lanelwy or St. Asaph, the Archbishop proceeded to the little cell of Basinwerk, where he and his attendants passed the night. The original foundation of this monastery has been much disputed by ancient writers; and there has been a difference of opinion respecting the order of monks who inhabited it.

Bishop Tanner says that Ranulph earl of Chester began a monastery about the year 1131, which was probably much improved, and made an abbey of Cistercian monks by King Henry the Second, about the year 1159. He also quotes a MS. note of Bishop Humfrys stating, that King Henry founded originally at Basingwerk, a cell of Templars, and that it was not made a house for Cistercian monks till the year 1312. Dr. Powel, in his annotations on this chapter, is also of the same opinion.

Leland, in his Itinerary, says, that the original inhabitants of this monastery were white monks, called *Fratres Grisei*, an order that was afore the conquest; and in his *Collectanea* he styles it a Cistercian abbey, and attributes its foundation to King Henry the Second.

Dugdale places it amongst the Cistercian abbeys; and by the

following passage proves that it existed in the time of the Earl of Chester.—“ Earl Ranulph gave to the monks of Basingwerk in Flintshire, a hundred shillings yearly rent of his rents at Chester, likewise Haliwell and Fulbroke, and the chappel of Basingwerk in which they were at first seated, with the mills there.”

By this document it appears evident, that not only a monastic establishment existed at Basingwerk before the death of the Earl of Chester in 1153, but that their first situation was in the chapel of Basingwerk. The same historian has also preserved the following grants relating to this abbey :

Confirmatio donationum per Regem Henricum Secundum.

Carta Lhewellini Principis Norwalliæ.

Carta Davidis filii ejusdem Lewellini, Principis Norwalliæ, data apud Coleshil, A. D. 1240.

In the first deed the king confirms all the grants and benefactions made to the abbey by Ranulph Earl of Chester and other barons : “ *Scilicet locum illum in quo abbatia illorum fundata est cum molendinis quæ juxta portam abbatiae habent.*”

The Welsh Chronicle informs us that King Henry, after his unsuccessful expedition into North Wales A. D. 1157, built a house near Basingwerk for the Templars.

From the above citations it is clear that a monastic establishment existed at Basingwerk, previous to the foundation generally ascribed to King Henry the Second in the year 1157, and that Ranulph Earl of Chester was a considerable benefactor to it (if not the original founder), having given them the chapel in which they were first seated. Being mentioned as an abbey in the grants of Prince Lhewelyn and his son David, dated A. D. 1240, we must set aside

the opinions of Bishop Humfrys and Dr. Powel, who date the period of its foundation so late as the year 1312.

I am inclined to think that this difference of dates and opinions may have arisen from confounding a monastic establishment, which certainly existed before the time of Henry the Second, with the house of Knights Templars, which we know that king built A. D. 1159. From the epithet of “cellula” given to it by Giraldus, we may suppose it was a building of no great magnitude in the year 1188.

Considerable remains of a monastic building are now standing. The architecture, a mixture of Saxon and early Gothic, is neither remarkable for its elegance or good execution. It is situated at a short distance from Holywell, on a gentle eminence above a valley, watered by the copious springs that issue from St. Wenefrede’s well, and on the borders of a great marsh, which extends towards the coast of Cheshire. Though surrounded by the busy clang of manufactories, copper works, cotton mills, &c. &c. it has not yet quite lost its solitary and sequestered appearance; its mouldering walls are shaded by some fine trees, and the lifeless trunk of an aged oak, coeval probably with its original cloistered inhabitants, forms a picturesque appendage to the surrounding ruins.

In the eighteenth year of King Edward the First, A. D. 1291, the Abbot of Basingwerk held the following lands and possessions, of the yearly value of £46. 11s.

BONA ABBATIS DE BASINGWERK ANNO 18 EDWARDI I.

Abbas apud Basing habet 3 molindina £11.

Item habet in villâ de Haliwell redditus cum molendinis £5.

Item habet grangiam de Fulbroke cum grangiis sub Priori 7 carrucarum cum aliis commoditatibus £3. 8s.

Item habet grangiam de Beggeburg 2 carrucarum £1.

Item grangiam de Kelyng (Halken) cum Penlyn 4 carucatarum et dimidiam, cum redditibus et aliis commoditatibus £11. 10s.

Abbas habet 53 vaccas exitus £11. 13s.

Item habet m m oves, exitus, salve custodia £30.

Summa bonorum Abbatis de Basingwerk £46. 11s.

Besides these monastic antiquities, there are vestiges of an ancient castle, adjoining to a vast dyke or ditch, which for many years was supposed to be that made by Offa King of Mercia, until it was ascertained by Mr. Pennant to be that of Watts.

Lord Lyttelton, in his History of King Henry the Second, says, "This castle was demolished by the Welsh in the reign of King Stephen." Various authors inform us that it was repaired by the same king in the year 1157, after his great military expedition against the Welsh. "Eodem anno Rex Henricus magnam paravit expeditionem, ita ut duo milites de totâ Angliâ tertium invenirent ad expugnandum Wallenses per terram et per mare."

"Intrans ergò Walliam Rex, extirpatis sylvis nemoribusque succisis, atque viis patefactis, castrum Roelent (Ruthlan) firmavit, alias munitiones antecessoribus suis surreptas, potenter revocavit, castellum etiam Basingewerc restauravit, et Wallensibus ad libitum subiectis, cum triumpho Angliam repetivit."

In the year 1165 it was besieged and destroyed by Owen Gwynedh.

The miraculous history of Saint Wenefrede and her well, was most probably an invention of the monks of Basingwerk, after the

days of Giraldus, otherwise it would not have escaped the notice of his superstitious pen.

The three military expeditions of King Henry into Wales, here mentioned, have so much connection with its history, and in some degree with this Itinerary, that I shall insert a short account of each of them.

A. D. 1157. The first expedition into North Wales.

A. D. 1162. The second expedition into South Wales.

A. D. 1165. The third expedition into North Wales.

This prince acceded to the English throne A. D. 1154, and (according to the historian Hume) “ possessed provinces in France, which composed above a third part of the whole French monarchy, and were much superior, in extent and opulence, to those territories which were subjected to the immediate jurisdiction and government of the king. The vassal was here more powerful than his liege lord.” He was engaged on military operations in Normandy when he received intelligence of King Stephen’s decease. Having in the year 1155 reformed many abuses, enacted many salutary regulations, and restored perfect tranquillity to his country, he again crossed the seas in 1156 in order to frustrate the hostile attempts of his brother Geoffrey, who, during his absence in England, had seized some of his foreign possessions. The Welsh also had availed themselves of the same opportunity of rebelling. “ But whilst King Henrie was about to recover and get backe the portions of his kingdome, made away and dismembred by his predecessors, he was informed that the Welshmen raised a rebellion against him; to repress whose attempts he hasted foorth with all diligence. Now at his first approch to their countrie, his souldiers being set upon

in the straits, were verie fiercelie put back by the enimies, insomuch that a rumor ran how King Henrie was slaine, which puffed up the Welshmen with no small hope, and dawnted the Englishmen with great feare. In deed, diverse of the English nobilitie were slaine, and amongst others, Eustace Fitz-John, and Robert de Curcy, men of great honor and reputation. Those which escaped in returning backe, not knowing that the king passed through the straits without danger, declared to their fellowes that followed and were approching to the said straits, that (so farre as they knew) the king and all the residue were lost. These newes so discomfited the companies, that Henrie of Essex, which bare the king's standard by right of inheritance, threw downe the same, and fled; which dishonorable deed was afterward laid to his charge by one Robert de Mountfort, with whom (by order taken of the king) he fought a combat in triall of the quarrell, and was overcome; but yet the king qualifieing the rigor of the judgement by mercie pardoned his life, and appointed him to be a shorne monke, and put into the abbey of Reading, taking his lands and possessions into his hands as forfeited; howbeit this combat was not tried till about the 9th yeare of this king's reigne.^d

“ Now the king hearing that his armie was discomfited, came to his men, and shewing himselfe to them with open visage, greatlie revived the whole multitude, and then proceeding against the enimies, his people were afterwards more warie in looking to themselves, insomuch that at length (when the king prepared to invade

^d A. D. 1163.—About the same time there was a combate fought betweene Robert Mountfort and Henrie de Essex, to trie which of them had begun the flight in the voiage against the Welshmen in the marches. Powel, p. 219.

the Welshmen both by water and land,) they sought to him for peace, and wholie submitted themselves to his grace and mercie. About the same time, King Henrie builded the castell of Rutland, (Ruthlan), the castell of Basingwerke, and one house also of Templers.”^e

The account of this expedition being rather more circumstantially related in the Welsh Chronicle, I shall not omit the insertion of it. A. D. 1157—“ About this time the king gathered all his power together from all parts of England, intending to subdue all North Wales, being thereunto procured and mooved by Cadwaller, whom the prince his brother, (Owen Gwynedh) had banished out of the land, and bereaved of his living, and by Madoc ap Meredyth, Prince of Powys, who envied at the libertie of North Wales, which knewe no lord but one. And so the king led his armie to West Chester, and encamped upon the marsh called Saltney. Likewise Owen, like a valiant prince, gathered all his strength, and came to the utter meares of his land, purposing to give the king battell, and encamped himselfe at Basingwerk ; which thing, when the king understood, he chose out of his armie diverse of the cheefest bands, and sent certeine earles and lords with them towards the princes camp, and as they passed the wood called Coed Eulo,^f

^e Hollinshed, Vol. III. p. 66.

^f Mr. Pennant has thrown additional light on this battle, by describing the country in which it happened. The straits mentioned by Giraldus, which proved so fatally disastrous to the English army, are at a place called Eulo near Coleshill in Flintshire, where there is a Castle, a narrow pass, and a wood called Coed Eulo. Henry having rallied his men, gave the Welsh battle at Coleshill near Flint, which is sometimes also called Counsylht. Owen Gwynedh, to counteract the well contrived plan of King Henry, retired to a plain near St. Asaph, which still bears the name of Cil Owen, or the retiring place of Owen, and from thence to a strong post named Bryn y pin,

David and Conan the princes sons met with them, and set upon them fearslie, and what for the advantage of the ground, and for the suddenness of the deed, the Englishmen were put to flight, and a great number slaine, and the rest were pursued to the king's campe. The king being sore displeased with that foile, remooved his campe alongst the sea coast, thinking to passe betwixt Owen and his countrie, but Owen foreseeing that, retired backe to a place which is called this daie Cil Owen, (that is, the retire of Owen), and the king came to Ruthlan. After that, Owen incamped and intrenched himself at Bryn y pin, and skirmished with the king's men dailie, and in the meane while that the king was fortifyeing the castell of Ruthlan, his navie which was guided by Madoc ap Meredith, prince of Powys, anchored in Anglesey, and put on land the souldiours which spoiled two churches, and a little of the countrie thereabouts. But as they returned unto their ships, all the strength of the ile set upon them and killed them all, so that none of those which robbed within the ile brought tidings how they sped. Then the shipmen seeing that, liked not their lodging there, but waid up anchors and went awaie to Chester. In the meantime, there was a peace concluded betwixt the king and the prince, upon condition, that Cadwalader should have his lands againe, and his brother should be his friend. Then the king leaving the castells of Ruthlan and Basinwerke, well fortified and

which is situated on a lofty rock above the church in the parish of St. George, and is now called Pen y parc.—Bryn Dychwelwch, or the eminence, on which Owen pronounced the order, Retreat, by its name preserves the memory of the circumstance. It lies over Pentre Bagilt, below Gadlŷs, and is supposed to have been the spot from which he retired to Cil Owen. Pennant, Vol. I. p. 89.

manned, after he had built a house thereby for the Templers, returned to England. (Powel, p. 207). Thus ended the first royal expedition into Wales; to the honour of the Welsh, and to the disgrace of the English prince.

Peace was now re-established betwixt the King of England and all the Princes of North and South Wales (Rhys, Prince of South Wales, only excepted), who at last, by threats, was induced to accept the proposed terms, and appear at court. But on Roger Earl of Clare's invading some of the lands, which by the late treaty had been bestowed upon Prince Rhys; this haughty chieftain again took up arms, and (according to the words of the Welsh Chronicle) "Seeing he could enjoy no part of his inheritance, but that he wan by the sword, gathered his power, and entering Cardigan, left not a castell standing in the countrie of those which his enimies had fortified, and so brought all to his subjection; wherewith the king being sore offended, returned to South Wales, and when he saw he could do no good, he suffered Rhys to enjoy all that he had gotten, and took pledges of him to keep the peace in his absence."

In 1158 the king went into Normandy, where he remained till the year 1162, during which interval the Welsh had been engaged in continual hostilities with each other. Henry, on his return, collected a powerful army to revenge the injuries committed by Prince Rhys during his absence abroad. He proceeded along the southern coast of Wales to Caermarthen, and from thence to Pencadair, where Prince Rhys met him and did him homage, and delivered up hostages, as pledges of his future good behaviour; but his ambitious and restless spirit would not suffer him to remain long inactive, for in the following year he made so many acquisitions and

advantageous attacks on the property of his neighbours, “ That the rest of the estates of Wales perceiving Prince Rhys to prosper so successfully against the English, thought they might be equally fortunate, and shake off the yoke which so unreasonably oppressed them.”

A most powerful combination was therefore formed by the Welsh princes against the English in the year 1165. “ Prince Owen and his brother Cadwalader, with all the power of North Wales; the Lord Rees, with all the power of South Wales; Owen Cyvelioc and the sonne of Madoc ap Meredyth, with the power of Powys; and the two sonnes of Madoc ap Ednerth, with the people betwixt Wye and Scaverne, gathered themselves together, and came to Corwen^g in Edeyrneon, purposing to defend their countrie.” On the other side, King Henry having levied an army of most chosen men throughout all his dominions of England, Normandy, Anjou, Gascoigne, and Guienne, and received succours from Flanders and Britanny, marched towards North Wales, “ minding utterlie to destroye all that had life in that land. Powel, p. 221.

“ He encamped at Croes Oswalt, or Oswestree, and understanding that the enemy was so nigh, being wonderfull desirous of battel, came to the river Ceireoc,^h and caused the woods to be hewen downe. Whereupon a number of the Welshmen understanding the

^g Corwen is a small village under the Berwyn hills, situated in the Vale of Dee, on the great road leading to Ireland by Holyhead. At a short distance from this village, on the opposite side of the Dee, is an ancient fortress on a hill, supposed to have been the post occupied by Owen Gwynedh when King Henry was encamped on the Berwyn hills; and Mr. Pennant says, that he was informed that the place of his encampment was marked by a rampart of earth above the church of Corwen, southward.

^h The river Ceiriog has its source in the Berwyn mountains, and empties its waters into the river Dee below Chirk.

passage, unknowing to their captaines, met with the king's ward where were placed the piked men of all the armie, and there began a hote skirmish, where diverse worthie men were slaine on either side, but in the end the king wanne the passage, and came to the mountaine of Berwyn, where he laie in campe certaine daies, and so both the armies stood in awe each of other, for the king kept the open plaines, and was affraid to be intrapped in straits; but the Welshmen watched for the advantage of the place, and kept the king so straitlie, that neither forage nor victuall might come to his camp, neither durst anie soldiour stirre abroad; and to augment these miseries, there fell such raine, that the king's men could scant stand upon their feete upon those slipperie hilles. In the end the king was compelled to returne home without his purpose, and that with great losse of men and munition, besides his charges. Therefore in a great choler he caused the pledges eies (whom he had received long before that) to be put out, which were Rees and Cadwallhon, the sonnes of Owen; and Cynwric and Meredyth, the sonnes of Rees, and other."ⁱ Thus ended the last and most unfortunate of

ⁱ The historian Hollinshed relates the particulars of this expedition very differently from the Welsh Chronicle, and attributes very partially the victory to the English monarch. He says, "A. D. 1165—The Welshmen this yeare spoiled a great part of those countries that bordered upon them; wherewith the king being sore moved levied an armie with all speed, as well of Englishmen as strangers, and (without regard of difficulties and dangers) did go against the rebels, and finding them withdrawne into their starting holes (I meane the woods and strait passages) he compassed the same about in verie forceable maner. The Welshmen perceiving themselves now to be brought into such jeopardie, as that they could not well devise how to escape the same, consulted what was best to be done. After consultation, casting awaie their weapons, they came forth to the king, asking mercie, which somewhat hardlie they obtained. Few of them were executed in comparison of the numbers that offended; but yet the capteines and cheefe authors of this rebellion were so punished, that it was thought

the three expeditions of King Henry against the Welsh, here alluded to by Giraldus.

they would never have presumed so rashlie to offend him in like sort againe.—For (as some writers affirme) he did justice on the sonnes of Rees, and also on the sonnes and daughters of other noble men that were his complices, very rigorouslie; causing the eies of the young striplings to be pecked out of their heads, and their noses to be cut off or slit; and the eares of the young gentlewomen to be stuffed.” Hollinshed, Vol. III. p. 73.

CHAPTER XI.

RIVER DEE—CHESTER.

HAVING crossed the river Dee below Chester (which the Welsh call Doverdwy), on the third festival before Easter, or the day of absolution, we reached Chester. As the river Wye towards the south separates Wales from England, so the Dee near Chester forms the northern boundary. The inhabitants of these parts assert, that the waters of this river change their fords every month, and, as it inclines more towards England or Wales, they can, with certainty, prognosticate which nation will be successful or unfortunate during the year. This river derives its origin from the lake Penmelesmere, and although it abounds with salmon, yet none are found in the lake. It is also remarkable, that this river is never swollen by rains, but often rises by the violence of the winds.

Chester boasts of being the burial place of Henry, a Roman emperor, who, after having imprisoned his carnal and spiritual father, Pope Paschal, gave himself up to penitence, and becoming a voluntary exile in this country, ended his days in solitary retirement. It is also asserted, that the remains of Harold are here deposited; he was the last of the Saxon kings in England, and as a punishment for his perjury, was defeated in the battle of Hastings, fought against the Normans. Having received many wounds, and lost his left eye by an arrow in that engagement, he is said to have

escaped to these parts, where, in holy conversation, leading the life of an anachorite, and being a constant attendant at one of the churches of this city, he is believed to have terminated his days happily. The truth of these two circumstances was declared (and not before known) by the dying confession of each party. We saw here, what appeared novel to us, cheese made of deer's milk; for the countess and her mother keeping tame deer, presented to the Archbishop three small cheeses made from their milk.

In this same country was produced, in our time, a cow partaking of the nature of a stag, resembling its mother in the fore parts, and the stag in its hips, legs, and feet, and having the skin and colour of the stag: but partaking more of the nature of the domestic than of the wild animal, it remained with the herd of cattle. A bitch also was pregnant by a monkey, and produced a litter of whelps resembling the monkey before, and the dog behind: which the rustic keeper of the military hall seeing with astonishment and abhorrence, immediately killed with the stick he carried in his hand; thereby incurring the severe resentment and anger of his lord, when he became acquainted with the circumstance.

In our time also, a woman was born in Chester without hands, to whom nature had supplied a remedy for that defect, by the flexibility and delicacy of the joints of her feet, with which she could sew, or perform any work with thread or scissars, as well as other women.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER XI.

CHESTER—This city bore, in ancient times, the name of *Caer lleon ar Ddyfrdwy*, that is, the city of legions on the river Dee, and of *Caerleon Gawr* or *Vawr*, which has by some been interpreted the city of the great legion, and by others the city of *Lleon the Great*, who was son of *Brût Darian Lâs*, the eighth king of Britain; but as we know, for a certainty, that it was the principal station of the *twentieth legion*, or the *LEGIO VICESIMA VALENS VICTRIX*, we may reasonably give it the former derivation. In its construction and situation it is as unlike any city in England, as *Venice* is unlike any one in Italy. I must refer those who wish to be better acquainted with its history and antiquities to *Mr. Pennant*, who, in the first volume of his *Tour through Wales*, has given a very particular account of it.

The lake of *Penmelesmere*—Is, in modern days, better known by the name of *Bala pool*. The river *Dee* rises in a valley leading from *Bala* to *Dolgelley*, and receives several contributory streams before it enters the lake, which bears various names, viz. *Llyn Tegid*, or the lake of fair aspect; *Penmelesmere*, or *Pimble Mere*, both of which names are a corruption from *Pymplwy meer*, or the meer of the five parishes adjoining the lake, *Landervel*, *Llanvawr*, *Llan-yckill*, *Llanwchllyr*, and *Llangower*. It is thus mentioned by *Leland*:

“ *Hispida qua tellus Mervinia respicit Eurum,
 Est lacus antiquo Penhlinum nomine dictus,
 Hic lacus illimeis in valle Tegeius altâ
 Latè expandit aquas, et vastum conficit orbem;
 Excipiens gremio latices, qui fonte perenni,
 Vicinis recidunt de montibus, atque sonoris
 Illecebris captas demulcent suaviter aures.*”

The assertion made by Giraldus, of salmon never being found in the lake of Bala, is not founded on truth, for these fish pass up the river Dee from its æstuary at Chester, and even through the lake to the rivers above it, in order to deposit their spawn; being contrary to the nature of this restless fish, to remain in still water they, of course, are never caught in the pool; but that they are temporary inhabitants of it, is very certain, for they are frequently seen and speared on their passage up the rivers at the head of the lake. The *gwyniad*,^a a white and insipid fish, seems peculiar to

^a The *gwyniad*, which by naturalists is supposed to be the same fish distinguished by the name of *ferra*, and which is to be found in the lake of Geneva in Switzerland, has been fully described by Willoughby and Pennant; the latter of whom gives the following account of it. This fish is an inhabitant of several of the lakes in the Alpine parts of Europe; it is found in those of Switzerland, Savoy, and Italy; of Norway, Ireland, and of Cumberland, and in the lake of Bala. It is the same with the *ferra* of the lake of Geneva, the *schelly* of Ulswater in Cumberland, the *pollen* of Lough Neagh, and the *vangis* of Loch Mahon. The Scotch have a tradition, that this fish was first introduced there by the beautiful and unhappy Queen Mary. It is a gregarious fish, and approaches the shores in vast shoals in spring and summer; “but it defies the skill of the most expert angler, as it never takes any bait, and can only be caught in a net. On opening them, I found they fed on very minute snails.” It is a fish of a very insipid taste, and must be eaten soon after it is taken. The head is small, smooth, and of a dusky hue; the eyes very large, the pupil of a deep blue; the

this lake: they herd together like herrings, and are never caught but with a net. The lake, as well as the river, abounded formerly with pike, which grew to a very great size; when a sudden and violent flood in the year 1781 so disturbed the waters of the lake, that these fish disappeared, and not one of that species has ever since been taken either in the pool, or in the adjoining rivers. The fish of this lake are now confined to trout, perch, gwyniad, and eels. The lake of Bala extends about four miles in length, from SW. to NE. and is not quite a mile in breadth. At the bottom stands the market town of Bala, consisting chiefly of one long and wide street, at the end of which is a large tumulus called Tommen y Bala. Near the exit of the river Dee from the pool

nose blunt at the end, the jaws of equal length, the mouth small and toothless, the branchiostegous rays nine; the covers of the gills silvery, powdered with black. The back is a little arched, and slightly carinated; the color, as far as the lateral line, glossed with deep blue and purple, but towards the lines assumes a silvery cast, tinged with gold, beneath which those colours entirely prevail. The side line is quite straight, and consists of a series of distinct spots of a dusky hue; the belly is a little prominent, and quite flat on the bottom. The first dorsal fin is placed almost in the middle, and consists of fourteen branched rays; the second is thin, transparent, and not distant from the tail. The pectoral fins had eighteen rays, the first the longest, the others gradually shortening; the ventral fins were composed of twelve, and the anal of fifteen, all branched at their ends; the ventral fins in some are of a fine sky blue; in others, as if powdered with blue specks; the ends of the lower fins are tinged with the same colour. The tail is very much forked; the scales large, and adhere close to the body.

The largest gwyniad we ever heard of, weighed between three and four pounds; we have a ferra, brought with us from Switzerland, that is fifteen inches long; but these are uncommon sizes; the fish I have described was eleven inches long, and its greatest depth three.

In shape and size, it bears a greater resemblance to the herring, than to any other fish I know. It seems to have derived the name of gwyniad, from its white colour, gwynn, in British, signifying white; and gwyniad môr, is the name of the whiting.

adjoining the bridge, there are vestiges of another raised earthen work, which seems to have been intersected by the road: here the Roman road, leading from the station of Mediolanum in Montgomeryshire, to that of Heriri Mons, or Tommen y Mûr in Merionethshire, traversed the valley; and continued its course either through or very near the present town of Bala, to the Miltirr Gerrig, or stone mile, and from thence through Bwlch-y-buarth to Tommen y Mûr. At the top of the lake, the very conspicuous Roman station at *Caer Gai*, abounding with brick and tile, seems to indicate the course of a Roman road near it, which, in that case, must have come from *Dolgelley*, and passed through *Bala*. The banks of the lake are in general cultivated; but here, as well as in almost every other part of Wales, the scanty remains of wood decrease daily. The boundaries of this lake are very grand: on the right is the mountain called *Arrennig Vawr*; facing it, on the left, is the majestic and cragged *Arran*, and the centre of the perspective is finely filled up with a distant view of *Cadair Idris*.

Giraldus seems to have been mistaken respecting the burial place of the Emperor Henry V. for he died May 23, A. D. 1125, at Utrecht, and his body was conveyed to Spire for interment.—“ *Ac postquam intestina ibidem fuerint sepulta, per Coloniam Agrippinam deportatus, in civitate Spirâ, juxta patrem, avum, proavum, imperatores, culto regio sepelitur.*” This emperor had a long and violent dispute with Pope Paschall the Second, on the subject of certain rights and investitures, which arose at length to such a degree of violence, that the emperor arrested the Pope in his own capital, A. D. 1111: a bloody battle ensued on the banks of the Tiber, in consequence of a spirited attempt of the Romans to rescue

their pontiff from the Germans: the emperor was unhorsed, and wounded in the face; but liberated from the hands of the enemy by Otho Count of Milan, who was taken prisoner, and barbarously put to death. The Pope was detained in prison for eight weeks, and not released until he had engaged to crown the emperor, and abandon the privileges he had claimed.

CHAPTER XII.

THE WHITE MONASTERY—OSWALDESTREE—POWYS—SHREWSBURY.

THE feast of Easter having been observed with due solemnity, and many persons, by the exhortations of the Archbishop, signed with the cross; we directed our way from Chester to the White monastery, and from thence toward Oswaldestree; where, on the very borders of Powys, we were met by Gruffydh, son of Madoc, and Elissa, princes of that country, and many others; some few of whom having been persuaded to take the cross (for several of the multitude had been previously signed by Reiner,¹ the bishop of that place), Gruffydh prince of the district publicly abjured, in the presence of the Archbishop, his cousin-german Augharad, daughter of Prince Owen, whom, according to the vicious custom of the country, he had long considered as his wife. We slept at Oswaldestree, or the tree of Saint Oswald, and were most sumptuously entertained after the English manner, by William, son of Alan, a noble and liberal young man. A short time before, whilst Reiner was preaching, a robust youth being earnestly exhorted to follow the example of his

¹ By the Latin context it would appear, that Reiner was Bishop of Oswestree; “Ab episcopo namque loci illius Reinerio multitudo fuerat ante signata.” Reiner succeeded Adam in the bishopric of Saint Asaph in the year 1186, and died in 1220: he had a residence near Oswestry, at which place, previous to the arrival of Baldwin, he had signed many of the people with the cross.

companions in taking the cross, answered, “ I will not follow your advice until, with this lance which I bear in my hand, I shall have avenged the death of my lord ;” alluding to Owen, son of Madoc, a distinguished warrior, who had been maliciously and treacherously slain by Owen de Cyfeilioc, his cousin-german : and while he was thus venting his anger and revenge, and violently brandishing his lance, it snapped suddenly asunder, and fell disjointed in several pieces to the ground, the handle only remaining in his hand : alarmed and astonished at this omen, which he considered as a certain signal for his taking the cross, he voluntarily offered his services.

In this third district of Wales, called Powys, there are most excellent studs put apart for breeding, and deriving their origin from some fine Spanish horses, which Robert de Belesme Earl of Shrewsbury brought into this country : on which account the horses sent from hence are remarkable for their majestic proportion, and astonishing fleetness.

Here King Henry the Second entered Powys, in our days, upon an expensive, though fruitless, expedition :² having dismembered the hostages, whom he had previously received, he was compelled, by a sudden and violent fall of rain, to retreat with his army ; on the preceding day, the chiefs of the English army had burned some of the Welsh churches, with the villages and churchyards : upon which the sons of Owen the Great, with their light-armed troops, stirred up the resentment of their father and the other princes of the country, declaring that they would never in future spare any

² This expedition into Wales took place A. D. 1165, and has been already described in the Annotations on Chapter X.

churches of the English: when nearly the whole army was on the point of assenting to this determination; Owen, a man of distinguished wisdom and moderation, the tumult being in some degree subsided, thus spake: "My opinion, indeed, by no means agrees with yours, for we ought to rejoice at this conduct of our adversary; for, unless supported by divine assistance, we are far inferior to the English; and they, by their behaviour, have made God their enemy, who is able most powerfully to avenge both himself and us." After which, the English army, on the following night, experienced (as has before been related) the divine vengeance.

From Oswaldestree, we directed our course towards Shrewsbury, which is nearly surrounded by the river Severn, where we remained a few days to rest and refresh ourselves; and where many persons were induced to take the cross, through the gracious sermons of the Archbishop and Archdeacon. We also excommunicated Owen de Cyfeilioc, because he alone, amongst the Welsh princes, did not come to meet the Archbishop with his people. Owen was a man of more fluent speech than his contemporary princes, and was conspicuous for the good management of his territory. Having generally favoured the royal cause, and opposed the measures of his own chieftains, he had contracted a great familiarity with King Henry the Second. Being with the king at table at Shrewsbury, Henry, as a mark of peculiar honour and regard sent him one of his own loaves: he immediately brake it into small pieces, like bread given away in charity; and having, like an almoner, placed them at a distance from him, he took them up one by one and ate them: the king requiring an explanation of this proceeding; Owen, with a smile, replied, "I thus follow the example of my lord,"

keenly alluding to the avaricious disposition of the king, who was accustomed to retain for a long time in his own hands, the vacant ecclesiastical benefices.

Three princes, distinguished for their justice, wisdom, and princely moderation, ruled, in our time, over the three provinces of Wales : Owen, son of Gruffydh, in Venedotia, or North Wales : Meredyth, his grandson, son of Gruffydh, who died early in life, in South Wales ; and Owen de Cyfeilioc in Powys. But two other princes were highly celebrated for their generosity ; Cadwalader, son of Gruffydh, in North Wales, and Gruffydh of Maelor, son of Madoc, in Powys : and Rhys, son of Gruffydh, in South Wales, deserved commendation for his enterprising and independent spirit. In North Wales, David, son of Owen, and on the borders of Morgannoc in South Wales, Howel, son of Jorwerth of Caerleon, maintained their good faith and credit, by observing a strict neutrality between the Welsh and English.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER XII.

SOME difficulty occurs in fixing the situation of the Album Monastery, mentioned in the text, as three churches in the county of Shropshire bore that appellation : the first at Whitchurch ; the second at Oswestry ; the third at Alberbury. In order to ascertain

the true position of this monastery, we must examine the passage in the text: "We directed our way from Chester to the White Monastery, and from thence towards Oswaldestree: where, on the very confines of Powys, we were met by Gruffydh, son of Madoc," &c. &c. "*Hic itaque festo debitâ solemnitate completo, versûs Album Monasterium iter aggressi sumus, et inde versus Oswaldestree, ubi tanquam in ipsâ Powisiensis orâ, occurrerunt nobis Powisiæ principes,*" &c. From this sentence every reader will naturally conclude, that the White Monastery was situated between Chester and Oswestry; and so is Whitchurch: at which place I am inclined to place it, contrary to the opinion of Mr. Pennant, who fixes it at Oswestry, saying, "Some writers entertain doubts whether this place was the Album Monasterium visited by Giraldus, and endeavour to fix it at Whitchurch; but those may easily be removed, when it is certain that it was in Powys land; a pretension that the other has no claim to." Mr. Pennant seems to have mistaken the word *ubi*, where: which evidently applies to Oswestry, and not to the White Monastery; for at that period Oswestry was situated near the eastern borders of Powys land. Before King Offa's time, the principality of Powys reached eastward to the rivers Dee and Severn, in a right line from the end of Broxen Hills to Salop, and comprehended all the country between the Wye and Severn; but after the making of Offa's Dyke, its limits were somewhat contracted, and extended in length from Pulford Bridge north-east, to the confines of Cardiganshire, in the parish of Lhanguric, in the south-west; and in breadth, from the furthest part of Cyfeilioc westward, to Ellesmere on the east side." Bishop Tanner is inclined to place the Album Monasterium at Whitchurch; and doubts even

of the existence of any monastery at Oswestry: which, however, Leland seems to establish, for he mentions the monuments and cloisters of the monks, and says that the church stood without the new gate, on the southern side of the town.—Would our travellers, therefore, on their road from the north, have passed through the town of Oswestry to the White Monastery, and afterwards used the expression, “*et inde versus Oswaldestree*”—and from thence towards Oswestry? or could this last word “towards” ever have been appropriately applied by Giraldus to two places so immediately adjoining each other as the town and church of Oswestry? The narrative of our author is so simple, and corresponds so well with the topography of the country through which they passed, that I think no doubt ought to be entertained about the course of their route. From Chester they directed their way to the White Monastery, or Whitchurch, and from thence towards Oswestry, where they slept, and were entertained by William Fitz Alan after the English mode of hospitality. Had the Album Monasterium been at Oswestry, the Archbishop and his attendants would most probably have taken up their abode there for the night, and not in the fortified town near it.

William son of Alan—In the time of William the Conqueror, Alan, the son of Flathald, or Flaald, obtained, by the gift of that king, the castle of Oswaldster, with the territory adjoining, which belonged to Meredith ap Blethyn, a Briton. This Alan having married the daughter and heir to Warine, Sheriff of Shropshire, had in her right the barony of the same Warine. To him succeeded William, his son and heir. He founded the abbey of Haghmon, in Shropshire, the priory of Wombrigge, in the same county, and

made great benefactions to the Knights Templars, the monks of Shrewsbury, Bildewas, and Cumbermere. In the reign of King Stephen he favoured the cause of Queen Maud against that monarch, and bravely defended the castle of Shrewsbury (of which he was at that time governor), until it was taken from him by assault. He also attended her at the siege of Winchester, and still faithfully adhering to her, was appointed Sheriff of the county of Salop on the accession of her son Henry to the crown; in which office he continued until his death. He married Isabel de Say, daughter and heir to Helias de Say, niece to Robert Earl of Gloucester, Lady of Clun; and left issue by her, William, his son and successor, who, in the 19th Henry II. or before, departed this life, leaving William Fitz Alan his son and heir; which William, in the year 1188, gave a sumptuous entertainment at his castle of Oswaldestre to Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, when that prelate made his progress through Wales. He died 16th of John, or before; and his only son and heir dying soon afterwards, his estates devolved to John Fitz Alan. his brother.^a

Robert de Belesme—Earl of Shrewsbury, was son of Roger de Mountgomery, a noble Norman, who led the centre division of the army in that memorable battle which secured to William the conquest of England, and for his services was advanced to the earldoms of Arundel and Shrewsbury. His first wife was Mabel, daughter and heir to William Talvace (son of William son of Ivo de Belesme, a person of great power and note in Normandy,) with whom he had a large inheritance. By this Mabel he had five sons and four daughters; of whom Robert de Belesme, here mentioned by Giraldus,

^a Dugdale Baronage, Tom. I. p. 314.

was the eldest. He died in the year 1094, and was buried in the priory at Shrewsbury, where his monument is still visible. On the death of his father Roger de Mountgomery, Robert de Belesme succeeded to the Norman property; and on the death of his brother, Hugh de Mountgomery, to the earldoms of Arundel and Shrewsbury in England. He was knighted in Normandy by William the Conqueror in the year 1073, and became a great favourite of that prince: but no sooner was the Conqueror dead, but his turbulent and rebellious disposition began to shew itself. He seized on several of the royal forts and garrisons, and joined with Odo Earl of Kent against William Rufus, with whom a reconciliation was effected by the intercession of his father Roger de Mountgomery. He afterwards took part with Robert Curthose against King Henry the First; and on being summoned to answer the treasonable charges alleged against him, fled to his castles, which he had strongly fortified: but at last he was under the necessity of imploring the royal mercy. The king confiscated his estates, deprived him of his honours, and banished him from his realm. Yet the wealth which he had treasured up in thirty-four strong castles, formerly built for his rebellious purposes, supported him sufficiently; but his restless spirit formed new conspiracies even in exile, and were carried to such a dangerous length, that the king, considering that no favour could win him, nor oath or promise oblige him, summoned him before his court of justice, where he was by judgment committed to close imprisonment, and sufficiently secured for the remainder of his life.

The character of this Robert de Belesme has been drawn by an ancient historian, as a very subtle, crafty, and deceitful man; big of body, strong, bold; powerful in arms, and eloquent; but exceed-

ingly cruel, covetous, and libidinous. A person of great insight in serious affairs, and unwearied in his managery of worldly business; likewise a most ingenious architect; but for inflicting of torments a most inexorable butcher.^b No friend at all to the church, but a vile and wretched oppressor. For which his wickedness, he underwent the sentence of excommunication by the venerable Serlo, Bishop of Sees, all his lands being interdicted, so that there was no burial therein, yet nothing was he reformed by any of these means. In brief, there can be no higher expressions of the most barbarous and cruel tyrant that ever was, than is of him; his severity being exercised not only to strangers, but even to friends and familiars; glorying and making his boast amongst his parasites of those his unparalleled inhumanities." Another of our ancient writers speaks of Robert de Belesme in still stronger terms of contempt:—"Vidisti Robertum de Belesme, qui Princeps Normannensis in carcerem positus; erat Pluto, Megera, Cerberus, &c."—"Thou hast seen Robert de Belesme, a Prince in Normandy, cast into prison. He was a Pluto, Megera, Cerberus, or whatsoever else can be expressed that is most horrid."^c

This earl took to wife Agnes, the daughter of Guy Earl of Pen-thien, whom he used most barbarously; by her he left one son, William, surnamed Talvace, against whom King Henry the First was much incensed, but at the earnest entreaty of his daughter, the

^b "Erat enim ingenio subtilis, dolosus et versipellis, corpore magnus et fortis, audax et potens in armis, eloquens, nimiumque crudelis, et avaritiâ et libidine inexplibilis, perspicax seriorum commentor operum, et in exercitiis mundi gravissimorum patiens laborum. In extruendis ædificiis et machinis, aliisque arduis operibus ingeniosus artifex, et in torquendis hominibus inexorabilis artifex." Ordericus Vitalis, p. 675.

^c Dugdale Baronage, Tom. I. p. 29, 31.

Empress Maud, he at last received him into favour, and permitted him to enjoy all his father's inheritance in Normandy.

The princes mentioned by Giraldus as the most distinguished characters in North and South Wales, are,

1. Owen, son of Gruffydh, in North Wales.
2. Meredyth, son of Gruffydh, in South Wales.
3. Owen de Cyveilioc, in Powys.
4. Cadwalader, son of Gruffydh, in North Wales.
5. Gruffydh of Maelor, in Powys.
6. Rhys, son of Gruffydh, in South Wales.
7. David, son of Owen, in North Wales.
8. Howel, son of Jorwerth in South Wales.

Of these princes some interesting memorials may be collected from the Welsh Chronicle, and other ancient historians.

1. Owen Gwynedh, son of Gruffydh ap Conan, died A. D. 1169, and was succeeded by his son David ap Owen; he governed his country well and worthily for the space of thirty-two years; he was fortunate and victorious in all his affairs, and never took any enterprize in hand but he atchieved it.

2. Meredyth ap Gruffydh ap Rhys, Lord of Caerdigan and Stratywy, died A. D. 1153, at the early age of twenty-five years. He was a worthy knight. fortunate in battle, just and liberal to all men.

3. Owen Cyveilioc was the son of Gruffydh ap Meredyth ap Blethyn, who was created Lord of Powys by King Henry the First; he died about the year 1197, and left his principality to his son Genwynwyn, from whom that part of Powys was called Powys

Genwynwyn, to distinguish it from Powys Vadoc, the possession of the Lords of Bromfield.

The death of this prince is merely noticed in the Welsh Chronicle, without any eulogium as to his character or military exploits, which may be accounted for by his general adherence to the royal cause against his countrymen the Welsh. To acuteness and good judgment in the government of his territory, and to a warlike and independent spirit he added the milder accomplishments of poetry, and the liberal enjoyments of convivial hospitality. The poems ascribed to him possess great spirit, and prove that he was, as Giraldus terms him, “*linguæ dicacis*,” in its best sense: his poem of the Hirlas, which is an address to his cup-bearer, after the celebrated battle fought in Maelor, A. D. 1165, against King Henry the Second, is on a princely subject, and has been treated by him in a princely manner. Like Baldwin, he also made the tour of Wales, not, indeed, to preach the crusade, but to enjoy the festive conviviality of the British chieftains; and he has recorded this journey in another poem.^c

4. Cadwalader, son of Gruffydh ap Conan, Prince of North Wales, died A. D. 1172.

5. Gruffydh of Maelor was son of Madoc ap Meredyth ap Blethyn, Prince of Powys, who died at Winchester, A. D. 1160. “This man was ever the King of England’s friend, and was one that feared God, and relieved the poor; his body was conveyed honorably to Powys, and buried at Myvod.” His son Gruffydh succeeded him in the

^c As the insertion of these long poems would cause too great an interruption in the narrative of the Itinerary, I shall defer them to the close of this Book.

lordship of Bromfield, and is recorded as a noble and wise man, and one that in liberality passed all the lords and noblemen of his time; he died about the year 1190, and was buried at Myvod.

6. Rhys ap Gruffydh, or the Lord Rhys, was son of Gruffydh ap Rhys ap Theodor, who died in the year 1137. The ancient writers have been very profuse in their praises of this celebrated prince. In Higden's Polychronicon we find the following curious character of Rhys:—"This yere deyed Rees Prynce of Wales; of hym one sayde in this manner:—"O blysse of batayle; chylde of chyvalry! defence of countree! worshypp of armes! arme of strength! hande of largenesse! eye of reson! bryghtnesse of honeste! berynge in breste Hectour's prowesse, Achilles's sharpnesse, Nestour's sobernesse, Tydeus' hardynesse, Sampson's strengthe, Hectour's worthynesse, Eurialus' swyftnesse, Ulyxe's fayre speche, Solomon's wysdome, Ajax's hardynesse!

"O clothynge of naked! the hungryes mete! fulfyllynge all mennes bone that him wolde ought bydde! O fayre in speche! felowe in servyce! honeste of dede, and sobre in worde! Gladde of semblaunt, and love in face! goodly to every man, and rightful to all! The noble dyademe of fayrnesse of Wales is now fallen. That is, Rees is deed! All Wales gronyth, Rees is deed! the name is not loste, but blysse passyth,—the blysse of Wales passyth, Rees is deed! worshypp of the worlde gooth awaye. The enemy is here, for Rees is not here. Now Wales helpith not itself. Rees is deed, and take awaye. But his noble name is not deed, for it is alway newe in the worlde wyde. This place holdyth grete worshypp yf the byrthe is beholde. Of men axe what is the ende, It is ashes and powder. Here he is hydde, but he is unhyllid, for name

duryth evermore, and suffryth not the noble duke to be hydde of speche. His prowessse passed his maners. His wytte passed his prowessse. His fayre speche passed his wytte. His good thewes passed his fayre speche."

I shall add another character in more modern and intelligible language, translated from the Welsh text in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, Vol. II. p. 440.

" In the year 1196 there was a dreadful storm of mortality over the whole Isle of Britain and the borders of France, so that infinite number of the common people died, as well as of the nobility and princes. And in that tempestuous year Atropos distinguished herself from among her sisters, who heretofore were called the Goddesses of Destiny, by employing her malignant and baneful powers against a most illustrious prince, so that neither the relation of Tacitus the historian, nor the strains of Virgil the poet, could express what lamentation, grief and misery came upon the whole nation of the Britons, when Death, in that accursed year, broke the course of her destinies, to bring the Lord Rhys ap Gruffydh under his triumphant dominion: the man who was the head, the shield, the strength of the South, and of all Wales; the hope and defence of all the tribes of the Britons; descended of a most illustrious line of kings; conspicuous for his extensive alliances; the powers of whose mind were characteristic of his descent. A counsellor in his court, a soldier in the field; the safeguard of his subjects; a combatant on the ramparts, the nerve of war; the disposer of the battle; the vanquisher of multitudes, who, like a maddened boar rushing onward, would vent his fury on his foes. Fallen is the glory of the conflicts! the shield of his knights, the protection of

his country, the splendour of arms, the arm of power, the hand of liberality, the eye of discrimination, the mirror of virtue, the summit of magnanimity, the soul of energy! Achilles in hardiness, Nestor in humanity, Tydeus in valour, Sampson in strength, Hector in prudence, Hercules in heroism, Paris in comeliness, Ulysses in speech, Solomon in wisdom, Ajax in thought, the foundation of all excellence." Such was Rhys Prince of South Wales, whose interesting portrait and effigy, taken from his tomb at Saint David's, are engraven for this work.

7. David, son of Owen Gwynedh, who, on the death of his father, forcibly seized the principality of North Wales, slaying his brother Howel in battle; and setting aside the claims of the lawful inheritor of the throne, Jorwerth Trwyndwn; whose son, Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, in the year 1194, recovered his inheritance.

8. Of this Howel, son of Jorwerth of Caerleon, an anecdote is related in the Welsh Chronicle which does not tend much to his honour.—"A. D. 1175, Howel, son of Jorwerth ap Owen of Caerleon, took his uncle Owen Pencarn prisoner, and putting out his eyes, gelded him, lest he should beget children which should inherit Caerleon and Gwent. But God provided a punishment for him, for upon the Saturday following there came a great army of Normans and Englishmen before the town, and wan it with the castle; maugre Howel and his father, who was not privy to his son's lewd deed."

CHAPTER XIII.

WENLOCH—BRUMFELD—LUDLOW—LEOMINSTER—HEREFORD.

FROM Shrewsbury, we continued our journey towards Wenloch, by a narrow and rugged way, called Ill-street,¹ where, in our time, a Jew travelling with the Archdeacon of the place, whose name was Sin, and the dean, whose name was Devil, towards Shrewsbury, hearing the Archdeacon say, that his archdeaconry began at a place called Ill-sreet, and extended as far as Mal-pas, towards Chester, pleasantly told them, “It would be a miracle, if his fate brought him safe out of a country, whose archdeacon was Sin, whose dean the devil; the entrance to the archdeaconry Ill-street, and its exit Bad-pass.”

From Wenloch, we passed by the little cell of Brumfeld, the noble castle of Ludlow, through Leominster to Hereford, leaving on our right hand the districts of Melenyth and Elvel; thus (describing as it were a circle) we came to the same point from which we had commenced this laborious journey through Wales.

During this long and laudable legation, about three thousand men were signed with the cross; well skilled in the use of arrows and lances, and versed in military matters; impatient to attack the

¹ I can find no place on the map, near Shrewsbury, which at all corresponds with the name of “Mala Platea,” or Ill-street. The town of Malpas in Cheshire, was the “Malus Passus” alluded to by Giraldus.

enemies of the faith; profitably and happily engaged for the service of Christ, if the expedition of the Holy Cross had been forwarded with an alacrity equal to the diligence and devotion with which the forces were collected. But by the secret, though never unjust judgment of God, the journey of the Roman emperor was delayed, and dissensions arose amongst our kings. The premature and fatal hand of death arrested the King of Sicily, who had been the foremost sovereign in supplying the holy land with corn and provisions during the period of their distress. In consequence of his death, violent contentions arose amongst our princes respecting their several rights to the kingdom; and the faithful beyond sea suffered severely by want and famine, surrounded on all sides by enemies, and most anxiously waiting for supplies. But as affliction may strengthen the understanding, as gold is tried by fire, and virtue may be confirmed in weakness, these things are suffered to happen. Since adversity (as Gregory testifies) opposed to good prayers is the probation of virtue, not the judgment of reproof. For who does not know how fortunate a circumstance it was that Paul went to Italy, and suffered so dreadful a shipwreck? But the ship of his heart remained unbroken amidst the waves of the sea.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER XIII.

WENLOCH—Saint Milburge, sister to Saint Mildred, and daughter of Merewald, son of Penda King of the Mercians, despising the vanities of the world, and devoting herself to the love of God, and a religious life, retired to a place, Wimmicas, in Shropshire, where, by the assistance of her father Merewald, and her uncle Wulpher, King of the Mercians, she founded a monastery for nuns, of which she became the first abbess. The historian Cressy, speaking of this period, says—“ At this time (A. D. 676), the Saxon churches in Brittany flourished like the paradise of our Lord: for they were plentifully adorned with lilies of pure virginity, and with violets of religious monks. Among the lilies which adorned this paradise, none were in this age more illustrious than the three daughters of Merwald, who this year began to reign over the Mercians, together with his brother Ethelred. There concurred to the affording a prerogative of honour to Saint Milburga, among other holy virgins, and particularly the children of King Merwald, not only the splendour of a royal descent from the Kings of Kent and Mercia, but her primogeniture also. But these privileges, though admired in the world, were so far from exalting her mind, that prevented with divine love, by which she aspired to God only and celestial things, she generously despised them; fixing all her thoughts and desires in this one design, how she might remove all such impediments as hindered her from consecrating her whole life

to divine meditations and contemplation. For the effecting of which glorious design, she made a joyful exchange of splendid palaces for a monastery; of royal purple for sackcloth; of a princely diadem for a religious veil; and of all pretensions to the highest earthly espousals for Christ, her heavenly bridegroom." In this consecrated retirement, Saint Milburga ended her days, and was buried near the altar in the church of her monastery at Wenloch. This abbey was probably destroyed during the general devastation of the kingdom by the Danes, and with it all memorials of the mausoleum of its foundress and patron saint perished. Such was its situation during the reign of William the Conqueror, when Roger de Mountgomery Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury rebuilt and endowed it; on which occasion the tomb of Saint Milburga was accidentally discovered; the circumstances of which are detailed by William of Malmesbury:—"Milburga apud Wenelock requiescit, olim ab accolis nota, sed post adventum Normannorum, dum nescitur locus sepulchri, aliquandiù oblivioni data. Nuper verò adunato ibi conventu Monachorum Cluniacensium, dum inchoata novi templi machina, quidam puer per pavementum concitatius cursitaret effracta mausolei foveâ propalam corpus virginis fecit; tunc balsamici odoris aura per ecclesiam spirante altius levatum tot miracula præbuit, ut catervatim eo populorum unde confluèrent. Vix patuli campi capiebant agmina viatorum, dum æquis umbonibus dives et mendicus se agerent, cunctos in commune præcipitante fide, nec cassum eventum res habuit, adeo ut nullus inde nisi extinctâ vel mitigatâ valetudine discederet, nonnullosque regius morbus medicis sane incurabilis per merita virginis relinqueret."

"On the establishment of the Cluniac monks at Wenloch, A. D.

1101, “whilst they were busy in erecting the fabric of a new church, a certain boy running hastily over the pavement, the vault of her sepulchre broke in under him, by which means the body of the holy virgin was discovered; which being taken up, an odori-ferous exhalation, as of a most precious balsam, perfumed the whole church: and such a number of miracles were wrought by her intercession, that wonderful multitudes flocked thither, both of rich and poor, so that the very fields about the church could scarce hold them; so strong a faith they had of finding remedy there for all their maladies. Neither did they fail of their expectation; for none departed without a cure, or at least a mitigation of their diseases, and particularly the king’s evil, esteemed incurable by physicians, was, through the merits of the Holy Virgin, perfectly healed in several persons.” Having restored this ancient monastery, Robert de Montgomery placed therein a prior and convent of Cluniac monks, who were considered as a cell to the house “De Caritate” in France; and suffered the same fate with the other alien priories, till in the reign of King Richard the Second, it was naturalized, and became “prioratus indigena.”

Alien priories were cells of the religious houses in England which belonged to foreign monasteries; for when manors or tithes were given to foreign convents, the monks, either to increase their own rule, or rather to have faithful stewards of their revenues, built a small convent here for the reception of such a number of members, as they thought proper, and constituted priors over them. These usually transmitted their revenues to the foreign head houses; for which reason, their estates were generally seized to carry on the wars between England and France, and restored to

them again on return of peace. The alien priories were first seized by King Edward the First, in 1285, afterwards by Edward the Second, and again, in 1337, by Edward the Third, who confiscated their estates, and let out the priories, with all their lands and tenements, at his pleasure, for the space of three and twenty years; at the end of which term, peace being concluded between the two nations, he restored their estates in 1361, as appears by his letters patent to the priory of Montacute in Somersetshire, printed at large in Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. VI. page 311; and thus translated by Weever, in his book on Funeral Monuments, page 339:

“ Edward, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and of Aquitaine, to all by these presents,” &c.

“ Although the priory of Montacute, in the county of Somerset (by reason of the warres betweene us and France), with all the lands, tenements, fees, advowsons, together with the goods and chattels belonging to the same, hath beene of late taken into our hands, and by us farmed and rented forth, as appeareth by divers patents; now, therefore, since peace is betwixt us and the noble prince, our most deare brother, the King of France, we, for the honour of God and Holy Church, restore to the said prior the priory, with all the lands, tenements, fees, advowsons, and whatsoever else belonging to the same, to hold the same in as free manner as they held it before. And withall, forgive and release all arerages of rents, which might bee due unto us by reason of any former grants. In witnesse, &c. the sixth of February, the 35 yeare of our raigne.”

At the same time, many other alien priories (and amongst them that of Wenloch) had like letters of restitution; all of which were

cleane suppressed and utterly dissolved, by King Henry the Fifth, and their lands given by him, and his sonne Henry the Sixth, to colledges of learned men, and to other monasteries.

The form of making a priory indigenou or denizen, as well as the act for suppressing the alien priories, with many other curious documents, are printed in the Appendix to the Account of Alien Priors, 1789.

From Dugdale, I can gain but little information respecting this priory; he recites simply a deed of Isabella de Say, lady of Clun, granting and confirming several donations to the monks of Wenloch. This Isabella de Say, whom we have before had occasion to mention, was wife to William Fitz-Alan, governor of Shrewsbury, and sheriff of that county.

A list of some of the priors of Wenloch is given in the preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, and another in Browne Willis's *Account of Abbies*; to which I shall refer the reader who may wish for more particular information respecting this priory, as these accounts differ very materially in respect to dates.

The ruins of this priory are both extensive and picturesque, and well deserve a visit from the artist; the colour of its materials is good, and improved by the wall flowers and other plants growing from the interstices of the stones. It presents various specimens of Saxon and Gothic architecture: of the former order are three beautiful ornamented arches at the western entrance, sunk deeply in the ground (as may be seen in the annexed plate); probably a part of the building erected by Roger de Mountgomery in the year 1101. The cloisters remain, and are appropriated to the uses of a farm house. How many monasteries and religious buildings have I seen



converted into similar uses, and how few have been so fortunately situated near the residence of men of property and taste, as to become an interesting and historical decoration to his grounds !

The parish church of Wenloch, adjoining the ruinous priory, bears many marks of Saxon antiquity. A large round arch separates the nave of the church from the chancel ; the western door is Saxon, and within the building there is a window of the same order, as well as a door-way on the northern side. On the right of the altar are some Gothic niches ; but no monuments of sufficient antiquity or sculpture to attract the notice of the antiquarian.

Brumfeld—From an ancient deed, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, I find that a small college of prebendaries, or secular canons, resided at Brumfeld, in the reign of King Henry the First ; Osbert, the prior, being recorded as a witness to a deed made before the year 1148. In 1155, they became Benedictines, and surrendered their church and lands to the abbey of Saint Peter's at Gloucester, whereupon a prior and monks were placed there, and continued till the dissolution. "*Anno MCLV canonici de Bromfeld dederunt ecclesiam suam et seipsos ad monachatum ecclesiæ S. Petri Gloucestriæ : per manum Gilberti Episcopi Hereford, auctoritate Theobaldi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Apostolicæ sedis legati.*"

Leland, speaking of this place, says, " There was a priory or cell of monkes at Bromfeild, longging to Gloucester abbey. There were sometimes prebendaries. Giffard gave it to Gloucester abbey. This house stood betwixt Oney and Temde. Temde runneth nearest to the house itselfe. It standeth on the left ripe of it. Oney runneth by the banke syde of the orchard by the house, touching it with

his right ripe, and a little beneath the house is the confluence of Ony and Temde."

An ancient gateway and some remains of the priory still testify the existence of this religious house, whose local situation, near the confluence of the rivers Onny and Temd, has been accurately described by Leland. Bromfeild is a small village immediately adjoining the finely wooded seat of Lord Powys, called Oakley Park.

In their journey from Wenloch, the crusaders passed by the cell of Bromfeild; but it does not appear that they stopped either at Ludlow or Leominster, but pursued their course directly to Hereford. The castle of Ludlow still merits the epithet of "nobile," given it by Giraldus; seated on a bold and well wooded rock, at the foot of which run the united streams of the Onny and the Temd, it presents itself to the eye as a most commanding and picturesque object.

According to Camden, this castle bore the name of Dinan and Llystwyroc, or the Prince's Palace. Its original construction has been generally attributed to Roger de Mountgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, from whom it descended to his son Robert de Belesme, on whose attainder it came into the possession of King Henry the First. During the reign of King Stephen, A. D. 1139, I find it in the possession of one Paganel: "Paganellus tenuit Castellum de Ludelawe tempore Stephani:" at which period it was besieged by that monarch; and Henry, son of the King of Scotland, was pulled from his horse by an iron hook, and rescued from the enemy by the valourous exertions of Stephen. "A. D. MCXXXIX, Rex Anglorum Stephanus Henricum filium Regis (Scotiæ) obsidem secum ducens in Angliam, Ludelhawe Castellum obsedit, ubi idem Henricus,

ab inclusis unco ferreo equo abstractus, penè intrà muros projectus est : sed Rex ipse ab hostibus eum, ut miles egregius, laudabiliter retraxit."

In the year 1198, Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, and Primate of England, took possession of Ludlow castle on behalf of the king, and committed it to the care of new governors.*

King Henry the Second bestowed this castle on Fulk Fitz-Warine (who was also called de Dynan), together with the adjoining valley of Corvedale, respecting whom there is the following most curious account in Leland's Collectanea : Tom. I. p. 231.

Thinges excerptid owte of an old Englisch boke yn ryme of the Gestes of Guarine and his Sunnes.

William Conqueror toke counsel of Corbet and Mortimer for strenkething of his marches about the quarters of Shropshire agayn the Walchmen.

The burge of Shrobbesbyri was committed to the cure of Roger de Belesme, where he made a castel.

Alberbyri and Alleston was committid to Guarine de Mees.

Alane Fleilsone had gyven to him Oswaldestre. Payne Peverel that lovid welle hunting, had Whittington, with al the lordship. Payne Peverel had no issue; but his sister had a sunne caullid William, a worthy knight, that won the hundredes of Ellesmere and Meilor and other mo. This William had issue 11 daughters, whereof Helene was married to Alane's heyre: and Mellet, the secunde, wold have none but a knight of very nobil hardines.

* Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo nonagesimo octavo, Hubertus, &c. fuit in Walliâ, et recepit in manu suâ castellum de Ludelaw, &c. expulsis inde custodibus, qui ea diu custodierant; et tradidit ea aliis custodibus custodienda ad opus Regis. Hoveden Annal. p. 775.

Wherefore her father promised by crye that noble young men should meate at Peverell's place in the Peke, and he that provid hymself yn feates of armes, should have Mellet his doughter, with the castel of Whittington.

Guarine cam to this enterprice, and ther faute with a sunne of the King of Scotland, and also with a Baron of Burgoyne, and vanquisch'd them bothe. Guarine had a sheld of sylver, and a proude peacock apon his heaulme creste.

Guarine weddid Mellet, and had a sunne caullid Fulco.

Joos, a knight, was lefte as a governer to yong Fulco. Guarine and he defendid his lands agayne one Walter, the greatest of the marche lorde owt of Lacy and Ludlow. They met at a bent by Bourne, at a bridge ende a litle from Ludlow. Joos bare a sheeld of sylver, with thre blew lyons coronid with gold.

Joos had a daughter caullid Hawise, whom Fulco Guarine entirely lovid, and seying her in great dolour, askid the cause of her sorow, and she answerid that it was no matier for an hauker to amende: and he upon that toke his horse and spere to rescow Joos her father, as one Godarde was aboute to streke of his hede; so that Godarde was slayne of him, and Gualter Lacy dryven away. Then Joos recovered a horse, and sore woundid Syr Arnold that did hym much hurte. Ther Fulco killid one Andrew, a knight longging to Walter Lacy.

Gualter Lacy and Syr Arnold were taken prisoners, and put in the castel of Ludlow, in a prison caullid Pendouer. A gentilwoman, caullid Marion, deliverid both these knighttes by treason owte of Pendouer, for the love of Syr Arnold de Lis, one of them that promisid her falsely marriage.

Fulco Guarine weddid Hawise, doughter to Joos, at Ludlow castelle. Joos and Fulco Guarine toke a journey into Ireland; Marion tarried, faining sikeness, behinde, and write a lettre to her love Syr Arnold de Lis, to cum secretly to her up into the castel with a lader of leder and cordes. Arnold cam acording to Marion's desier, and had his pleasure of her; and sone after came his bande, and secretly scalinge the walles killed the castellanes. Then Marion, seeing this treason, lept owte of a towre, and brake her nek: and Arnold killid after many of the burgeses of Ludlow toune, sparing nother wife, widow, nor childe.

Walter Lacy, hering that the castel and toune of Ludlow was won, cam with his band thither, and mannid and vitailid Ludlow, keping it as his owne. This tidinges was tolde to Joos lying at Lambourne. Joos and Fulco, and his father Guarine, cam to rescue Ludlow; and in assaulting of it killid many of Lacy's men. Then Lacy, with a band of men, cam oute to fight with them; but he lesing many men, was fayne to recoyle into the town. Sone after this, Guarine de Meese waxid very sike, and so goyng to Albourby he dyed there within vii dayes, and was buried in the new abbay, Fulco his sunne and Mellet his wife being present.

Fulco returnid to help Joos. Gualter Lacy sent to the Prince of Wales for help, and he cam, wyning by the way Whittington, &c. Deonoan, a place about Ludlow, wither the Prince of Wales with his resortid to help Lacy.

Fulco Guarine hurte the Prince of Wales in the shoulder, and drave hym to a castelle caullid Cayhome, where Cay had be lorde, and there asseging by 3 days parte of the prince's men, killid many of them at a certen issue. Fulco was woundid, and yet roode to

mete King Henry by Glocestre, of whom he was welle interteynid as his kinnesman, and there had his wounde that Arnolde's brother gave hym yn the waste, welle helid.

King Henry made a Fulke a knight and steuard of his house, and lorde and governor of thos marchis. This Fulco Guarine had a sunne by his wife Hawis, likewise caullid Fulco.

By the foregoing account, it appears that Fulk Fitz-Warine had several contests with Walter de Laci about the castle of Ludlow, in one of which the latter was taken prisoner, and confined within the said fortress; but being released, and hearing that the castle and town were won by his friend, Sir Arnold de Lis, he came and victualled them both, and kept them as his own. By an intermarriage with his family, it came afterwards into the possession of the Genneviles, for, in 28 Henry III. A. D. 1244, Peter de Geneva having married Maud, the niece and one of the coheirs to Walter de Laci, obtained the king's precept to the Sheriff of Herefordshire, for the setting forth her purparty, upon partition made of the lands of the said Walter; whereupon the castle of Ludlow, with its members, was in part thereof assigned to her. In 31 Edward I. (A. D. 1303), Roger de Mortimer took to wife Joane the daughter of Peter de Genevill, son of Geffrey de Genevill, and became lord of Ludlow castle. In 14 Edward II. (A. D. 1321), having united himself with the discontented barons of the realm, he was committed a prisoner to the Tower, from which he found means to escape (A. D. 1323); and in memory of this deliverance he caused a chapel to be built in honour of Saint Peter in the outer ward of Ludlow castle, for one priest to celebrate divine service perpetually therein. He was afterwards made Justice of Wales, and created Earl of March by King Edward the Third,

whom he entertained most sumptuously during his progress into the marches of Wales, at his castles of Ludlow and Wigmore. “*Rogerus prædictus Dominus de Wigmore a Domino Edwardo tertio Rege, anno regni sui primo apud Sarum Marchiæ creatur comes. Exinde Rex Edwardus tertius ad Marchiam transiit, et in castris dicti Domini Rogeri Comitis de Loddelowe et de Wygmore, forestisque et parcis, hastiludiis et aliis solaciis, munificisque donariis sibi et suis largiter effusis, regaliter per nonnullos dies tractatus.*” This aspiring and ambitious earl was executed on the common gallows in the year 1330, and his estates by forfeiture devolved to the crown.

In the year 1459, during the reign of King Henry the Sixth, “the Duke of York, the Erle of Warwike and Salisbyri, seyng all thinges to be rulid by the queene, and the noblemen despisid, and standing yn jeopardy of life, gatherid an hoste, and cam to Ludlow, to the which the Erle of Warwick resorted from Calays, and one Andrew Trollope, a stoute warrior, with hym, yn whom he much trustid; but Andrew Trollope and the old soldiours of Calais left the Duke of York, and the Erle of Warwick, and went to the kinge’s campe: then the king enterid Ludlo toune and castelle, and despoilid them.” Leland Collect. Tom. I. p. 497.

In later times this castle became the favourite residence of several of our English princes, and the court of the lords marchers, where the president lived. It was lately the property of Earl Powys, and now that of Lord Clive, who has succeeded to the earldom and title of Powys.

I shall now briefly recapitulate the possessors of this ancient fortress.

Roger de Mountgomery, who came into England with William the Conqueror, built Ludlow Castle.

Robert de Belesme, his son, succeeded to his extensive possessions, which were afterwards forfeited to the crown.

A. D. 1139 : In the reign of King Stephen, Ludlow castle was held by Gervase Paganel.

A. D. 1143 : About this period, the Welsh Chronicle informs us, that Joces de Dynant was Lord of Ludlow, between whom and Hugh de Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, were great differences. King Henry the Second is said to have bestowed it on Fulk Fitz-Warine, called also de Dinan. It was afterwards taken possession of by Walter de Laci, from whom it descended by marriage to the Genevill family, A. D. 1244. After that time it seems to have passed into the Mortimer family ; for Leland tells us, that in the year 1264, Hugh de Mortimer surrendered his castle of Ludlow to John Fitz-John.

In the year 1303, it came again into the Mortimer family, by an intermarriage with the Genevill family ; and on the attainder of Roger de Mortimer it devolved to the crown.

The curious reader will find many interesting particulars respecting the town, castle, and church of Ludlow, in Churchyard's Poem, entitled " The Worthiness of Wales." Many sumptuous monuments, which no longer exist, are there described ; and a list given of the ancient lords of the castle, and lord presidents of the marches. Leland also in his Itinerary treats largely of this town.

Before I quit Ludlow, I must not omit mentioning the curious circular chapel within the area of the castle ; as its novel form, and ancient Saxon decorations, merit the attention of the

antiquarian. Thomas Churchyard the poet, who wrote his poem on the Worthies of Wales, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, takes notice of this chapel in the following lines :

“ In it besides (the works are here unnam'd)
 A chappell is, most trim and costly sure,
 So bravely wrought, so fayre and finely fram'd,
 That to worlds end, the beautie may endure.
 About the same, are armes in colours sitch,
 As fewe can shewe, in any soyle or place :
 A great device, a worke most rare and ritch :
 Which truely shewes the armes, the blood and race
 Of sondrie kings, but chiefly noble men,
 That here in prose, I will set out with pen.”

This chapel was richly decorated with the arms and atchievements of those princes and nobles who had possessed Ludlow castle, and of the Lord Presidents of the marches.

Our travellers quitting Ludlow, passed through the town of Leominster on their road to Hereford. The ancient name of this town, “ Leonis Monasterium,” by which it was known in the days of Giraldus, has met with different derivations from old writers. Leland, in his Itinerary, speaking of this place says, “ The towne of Leominster is meetly large, and hath good buildinges of tymbre. The antiquity of the towne is most famous by a monastery of nunnes, that Merwaldus King of the Marches built there, and endowed it with all the lands thereabout, saveing onely the lordship now called Kingesland. And it is supposed of clerkes that the ould name of the towne tooke beginning of the nunnes, and was called in Welsh

Lhan-lheny, id est, “locus vel fanum Monialium;” and not of a lyon that is written to have appeared to King Merwald, upon which vision he beganne (as it is sayd) to build this nunnery. Other kinges of the marches immediately followinge Kinge Merewald, were benefactours unto it. Some saye that the nunnery was after in the Danes warres destroyed, and that after a colledge of prebendaries sett there. The certainty is knowen that the abbey of Shaftesbury had rule at Lemster, and possessed much landes there, and sent part of the reliques of Saint Edward the Martyr to be adored there. King Henry I. annexed the landes of Lemster to the abbey of Reading, and there was a cell of monkes instituted at Lemster by the abbotes of Reading. There is but one paroch church in Leominster; but it is large, somewhat darke, and of auncient buildinge; insomuch that it is a great likelyhood, that it is the church that was somewhat afore the conquest. The church of the priory was hard joyned to the east end of the parish church, and was but a small thinge. Some saye, that the monkes of the priory sayd that they had the sculls of the head of Merewald and Ethelmund, Kinges of Merche. Mr. Hacluit tould me that the body of Kinge Merewald was found in a wall in the ould church of Wenloch. Leonmynstre a celle to Reading blak monkes, on the ryver of Lug, vii myles from Hereford.” Other writers have deduced from its situation near the confluence of the rivers Lug and Oney, and therefore called Lugoneyminster, and by corruption Leominster. In Domesday book it is written Leofminstre, the church of Leof, the contraction of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, of which this country was a part, and under his dominion. Bishop Tanner, in his account of Leominster, says, “that Merwald, King of the western part of

Mercia, first built a monastery there to the honour of Saint Peter, about A. D. 660, which being destroyed in the Danish wars, there was first a college of prebendaries, and afterwards an abbey of nuns, who were all dispersed, and their lands possessed by laymen long before the year 1125, when King Henry the First gave this monastery, with every thing belonging to it, to the new stately abbey which he had founded at Reading in Berkshire. After this it became a cell of Benedictine monks, subordinate thereunto, and was, A. D. 1536, endowed with the yearly revenue of £660. 16s. 8d. out of which there was paid to Reading, and in other reprises, to the value of £448. 4s. 8d. The greatest part of the site of this priory was granted to the bailiffs and burgesses of the town.

“ *Henricus Dei gratiâ Rex Anglorum et Dux Normannorum, Archiepiscopis, &c. &c. Sciatis quod tres abbatiae in regno Angliæ, peccatis suis exigentibus, olim destructæ sunt. Radingia scilicet atque Chelseya et Leoministria, quas manus laica diù possedit, earumque terras et possessiones alienando distraxit. Ego autem consilio pontificum, et aliorum fidelium edificavi novum apud Radingiam monasterium, et donavi eidem monasterio ipsam Radingiam, Chelseyam quoque, et Leominstriam, &c. &c. Actum anno MCXXV.*”

The parish church at Leominster bears many evident marks of high antiquity. The western portal is a fine specimen of ornamented Saxon architecture, and, with the windows above it, bespeaks an early construction. The capitals of the columns within the church are of the same style, and vary in their designs: a great part of the nave of the old church remains, of simple Saxon architecture, and appears to have been a part of the original monastic building.

Having conducted my readers through the most interesting parts of North and South Wales; and having endeavoured to illustrate every topographical, as well as historical passage of my author; I shall take my leave of them at Hereford, a place too well known to require any particular description: and I hope they will both overlook the many eccentricities of Giraldus, and follow with patience the many digressions of his Annotator.

CHAPTER XIV.

A DESCRIPTION OF BALDWIN ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

LET it not be thought superfluous to describe the exterior and inward qualities of that person, the particulars of whose embassy, and as it were holy peregrination, we have briefly and succinctly related. He was a man of a dark complexion, of an open and venerable countenance, of a moderate stature, a good person, and rather inclined to be thin than corpulent. He was a modest and grave man, of so great abstinence and continence, that ill report scarcely ever presumed to say any thing against him; a man of few words; slow to anger, temperate and moderate in all his passions and affections; swift to hear, slow to speak; he was from an early age well instructed in literature, and bearing the yoke of the Lord from his youth, by the purity of his morals became a distinguished luminary to the people; wherefore voluntarily resigning the honour of the Archlevite,¹ which he had canonically obtained, and despising the pomps and vanities of the world, he assumed with holy devotion the habit of the Cistercian Order; and as he had been formerly more than a monk in his manners, within the space of a year he was appointed abbot, and in a few years afterwards preferred first to a bishopric, and then to an

¹ Giraldus here alludes to the dignity of archdeacon, which Baldwin had obtained in the church of Exeter.

archbishopric; and having been found faithful in a little, had authority given him over much. But, as Cicero says, “Nature hath made nothing entirely perfect;” when he came into power, not laying aside that sweet innate benignity which he had always shewn when a private man, sustaining his people with his staff, rather than chastising them with rods, feeding them as it were with the milk of a mother, and not making use of the scourges of the father, he incurred public scandal for his remissness. So great was his lenity that he put an end to all pastoral rigour; and was a better monk than abbot, a better bishop than archbishop. Hence Pope Urban addressed him; “Urban servant of the servants of God, to the most fervent monk, to the warm abbot, to the lukewarm bishop, to the remiss archbishop, health, &c. &c.”

This second successor to the martyr Thomas having heard of the insults offered to our Saviour and his holy cross, was amongst the first who signed themselves with the cross, and manfully assumed the office of preaching its service both at home and in the most remote parts of the kingdom. Pursuing his journey to the holy land, he embarked on board a vessel at Marseilles, and landed safely in a port of Tyre, from whence he proceeded to Acre, where he found our army both attacking and attacked, our forces dispirited by the defection of the princes, and thrown into a state of desolation and despair; fatigued by long expectation of supplies, greatly afflicted by hunger and want, and distempered by the inclemency of the air: finding his end approaching, he embraced his fellow subjects, relieving their wants by liberal acts of charity, and pious exhortations, and by the tenor of his life and actions strengthened them in the faith; whose ways, life, and deeds, may he who

is alone the “ way, the truth, and the life,” the way without offence, the truth without doubt, and the life without end, direct in truth, together with the whole body of the faithful, and for the glory of his name and the palm of faith which he hath planted, teach their hands to war, and their fingers to fight.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER XIV.

BALDWIN was born at Exeter in Devonshire, of a low family, and being endowed by nature with good abilities, applied them to an early cultivation of sacred and profane literature. His good conduct procured him the friendship of Bartholomew Bishop of Exeter, who promoted him to the archdeaconry of that see; resigning this preferment, he assumed the cowl, and in a few years became abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Ford: In the year 1180 he was advanced to the bishopric of Worcester, and in 1184 translated to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. In the year 1188, he made his progress through Wales, preaching with fervour the service of the Cross; to which holy cause he fell a sacrifice in the year 1190, having religiously, honourably, and charitably ended his days in the Holy Land.^a

^a “ Baldwinus Devonius, tenui loco Excestriæ natus, vir ore facundus, exactus philosophus, et ad omne studiorum genus per illos dies aptissimus inveniebatur, scholarum rector primum erat, tum postea archidiaconus, eruditione ac sapientiâ in omni negotio celebris. Fuit præterea Cisterciensis monachus, et Abbas Fordensis cænobii,

The Monk of Chester, in his *Polychronicon*, thus speaks of Baldwin:—"This yere when Rychard Archebysshop of Canterbury was dede, Baldwyn Bishop of Wynceter was archebysshop after by assent of the kinge and of all the bysshops. But the monkes of Caunterbury withsayd it with all that they mighte. Of hym it is sayd, that he ete never flesshe from the fyrste daye that he was made whyte Monke to his lyve's ende. In a time by the waye an olde lene woman met hym, and axed yf it were sothe that he ete noo maner flesshe? "It is sothe," sayd he. "It is false," sayd she "for thou hast ete my flesshe unto the bones: for I had but one cowe that I was susteyned by, and thy deanes have taken fro me that cowe." He answerede and sayde, "Truely by the grace of God, thou shalt have as good a cowe as she was."

"The fourth yere of his bysshopryche fell styfe betwene hym and the convent of Caunterbury for new houses and chyrches that were new bylded fast by the monkes walles, in the whiche chyrche he had ordeyned seculer clerkes, and ordeyned them provendres of the monkes chyrches, that he was compelled to take awaye the buildynge, and they were translated to Lambhythe fast by London before Westmester. The yere of our Lorde 1188 this Baldwin had

magnus suorum æstimatione, ac universæ eorum societati quasi antesignanus. Fuit deinde Vigorniensis Præsul, fuit et demum mortuo Ricardo, Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus, ac totius Angliæ Primas. Cui muneri Baldwinus sollicitè invigilans, egregium se pastorem exhibuit; dominicum semen, quantum patiebatur ejus temporis iniquitas, ubique locorum spargens. Ricardus Anglorum Rex, acceptis tunc regni insigniis, summo studio classem ac omnia ad Hierosolymitanum bellum gerendum necessaria paravit. Secutus est illico Regem in Syriam et Palestinam usque Baldwinus, ut esset in tam sancto (ut ipse putabat) itinere, laborum, dolorum ac periculorum particeps."
Bale de Scriptoribus Britanniæ, p. 288.

the offyce of the legacye of the crosse, and wente into Wales, and songe in every cathedrales chyrche of Wales a masse in pontificalibus; and that was never seen before that tyme." Higden's Polychronicon, lib. vii. fol. 291.

The following particulars respecting Baldwin are recorded in Leland, from a book of Gervase, monk of Canterbury, concerning the lives of the archbishops of that see.

A. D. 1184. Successit Balduinus Episcopus Wigorniensis, antea Abbas de Fordâ.

Balduinus Exoniæ ex infimo genere natus.

Balduinus a Bartolomeo Exoniensi factus Archdiaconus Exoniensis.

Balduinus fit Monachus in Fordâ, et postea Abbas.

Mortuo Rogero Episcopo Wigorniensis, successit Balduinus.

Consilio Balduini omnes Episcopi Angliæ studebant monachos ab ecclesiis cathedralibus expellere, et clericos introducere.

Balduinus novam ecclesiam Cantuariæ fabricavit separatam ab ecclesiâ monachorum, ubi jussit clericos suos domus mansionarias facere.

Balduinus monachos Cantuarienses duriter tractat.

Ecclesia à Balduino incepta Cantuariæ, et domus mansionariæ adjunctæ demolitæ.

Balduinus lapideam ecclesiam apud Lamhith^b prope Londinum incepit, et domus mansionarias ibidem pro clericis suis fabricavit.

^b Archiepiscopus (Balduinus) interim construxit ecclesiam apud Lamhith ex opposito Westmonasterii, et prebendas, quas assignaverat in capellâ quam fecerat in suburbio civitatis Cantuariæ, assignavit in illâ ecclesiâ novâ, quam construxit apud Lamhith.—Leland Collect, Vol. III. p. 200.

This church which Baldwin had erected at Lambeth was afterwards levelled to the

Sedit annis v. mensibus xi. Obiit in obsidione civitatis Acon, et ibidem sepultus est.

An ancient writer has given the following account of the part which Baldwin acted in this crusade. “Jamque Rex memor voti quod fecerat, instigante Romano Pontifice de bello Saracenis inferendo, jubet Archiepiscopum (Balduinum) sacris concionibus nobilitatem et plebem ad tam pium opus sollicitare, et audientes ejus dictâ cruce signare. Lubens negotium sibi impositum Archiepiscopus suscepit, et multis peragratissimis provinciis, tandem Cambriam pervenit, cujus celebria omnia loca adibat, invisibat, curiosè perlustrabat. Finierat Archiepiscopus munus sibi injunctum, et plurimus miles, cruce signatus, in armis stabat. At erat Henrici jam tarda ætas, quam paulo post et mors secuta est. Successit in regno Richardus, cui ignescens juvenili in corpore virtus, nihil aliud sonabat quam Virgilianum illud “*Bella, horrida bella.*” Susceptâ igitur expeditione belli Hierosolymitani, Archiepiscopus unâ cum Rege Massiliam devehitur; deinde, cum magnâ classe præcedens expectatissimus Tyrum, civitatem nobilissimam ac antiquissimam, venit. Obiit autem Tyri, ubi et sepultus est, relinquens Richardo magnum sui desiderium.”^c

ground in the year 1199, by his successor Hubert. “Hubertus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus ecclesiam de Lambith, quam Balduinus predecessor suus in honore S. Thomæ martyris fundaverat, et ipse ferè consummaverat, procurantibus monachis Cantuariensibus, in quorum detrimentum fundabatur, auctoritate summi pontificis sic imperantis, ad sui et multorum ignominiam complanavit. Leland Collect. Vol. I. p. 265.

^c Many further particulars respecting Baldwin may be found in Bale, Leland, Pitseus, and the Chronicle of Gervase, (which is printed amongst the “Decem Scriptores” edited by Twysden,) who has given a detailed account of his controversy with the monks of Canterbury.

OWAIN CYVEILIOC.

OWAIN CYVEILIOC was son of Gruffydh ap Meredyth ap Blethyn, created Lord of Powys by King Henry the Second. He derived the title of Cyveilioc, from a district bearing that name in Merionethshire, which was a comot of the cantrev or hundred of Cynan. He took an active part in the battle of Crogen, A. D. 1165, which proved so disastrous to King Henry, and so honourable to the Welsh;^a and I am inclined to think, that this battle gave rise to the celebrated poem of the Hirlas, or Drinking Horn; of which I now submit a new poetical version to the public, by the pen of my friend Richard Fenton, Esq. of Fishguard in Pembrokeshire, who has endeavoured (as literally as the subject would admit) to combine the meaning with the spirit of the poet. His death is simply mentioned in the Welsh Chronicle, as having taken place in the year 1197; but no eulogium (as on the decease of other illustrious princes) is passed upon his character. Though Giraldus gives him the opprobrious term of "*Oenus iste, that Owain*,"^b yet he allows

^a In this year a most powerful combination was formed against King Henry the Second, by Owen Gwynedh Prince of North Wales, Rhys Prince of South Wales, with Owain Cyveilioc, and the sons of Madoc ap Meredyth, Princes of Powys, the event of which has been fully related in my Annotations on the Itinerary, Book II. Chapter X. p. 162.

^b This epithet may have been given to him from the circumstance of his not attending on the Archbishop with his vassals, to assume the cross; for which neglect he was excommunicated: "*Oenum quoque de Cevelioc, quia solus inter Walliæ principes archi-*

him to have exceeded all his cotemporary princes in eloquence and good judgment : “ *Oenus iste præ aliis Cambriæ principibus et linguæ dicacis extiterat, et in terræ suæ moderamine ingenii perspicacis.*”

The bard Cynddelw,^c who flourished from about the year 1150 to 1200, in a complimentary ode addressed to Owain Cyveilioc, has thrown much light on the character of that illustrious prince. A translation of the whole poem would perhaps be too tedious, as it is long, without any methodical plan, and a rhapsody of

præsuli cum populo suo non occurrerat, excommunicavimus,” or Giraldus, from the circumstance of his frequently favouring the royal cause, might have transferred on Owain Cyveilioc some portion of the antipathy he bore towards the English monarch.

^c Cyndelw was one of the most celebrated bards of the middle ages; he flourished from about A. D. 1150 to 1200, and on account of his stature, was commonly called Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr, or Cynddelw the Great Bard. His works contained many things hostile to the superstition of the age wherein he lived, as may be learned from an occurrence that happened to him during his last illness; when the monks of Ystrad Marchell in Powys, sent a deputation to him with a requisition to renounce his errors, and to make satisfaction to the church, denouncing, in case of his non-compliance, that he should be excommunicated, and not have Christian burial. He thus replied to them in verse, “ Since no covenant could be produced against me, which the God of purity doth know, it would have been more just in the monks to receive, than to reject me.” Cambrian Biography, p. 67.

Many other documents might be selected from the works of the Welsh bards, to prove that this order was very hostile to Popery : of which I shall give one other example, in a still earlier period of Welsh history, from a dialogue between Merddin, or Merlin, and his sister Gwenddydd.

Gwenddydd. “ Take the sacrament before your death.”

Merddin. “ I will take no sacrament from accursed monks, with their cloaks on their haunches. May I be communed with by God himself.”

Another document breathing the same spirit of hatred against the monks, may be found in the poems of David ab Gwilym, where the bard feigns a dialogue between himself and a grey friar.

The chieftain Owain Cyveilioc seems also to have born the same antipathy to the clergy, for he paid no deference to Baldwin when he made his progress through Wales, and on that account was (like his panegyrist Cynddelw) excommunicated.

various epithets, which read very well in the original, owing to the extraordinary character of the Welsh language for its condensity, and assisted by a most artificial versification; but all these beauties would be lost in an English translation, and present those multitudinous epithets in a much more extended and tiresome length. I shall therefore only give a specimen of the beginning and end of this poem.

“ Druids of a gallant land foretel to a foe who has been clothed with homage, that songs of concurrent acclamation shall proclaim the united praise of a man of boundless depredation. Songsters shall recount the full animation of their chief; he who procures their full pleasure in varieties.

A more ruthless conflict, a sharper slaughter-lurking stroke will be cut by the leader glaring like lightning. The wealth of Deira^d will be hastening to the region of Powys, to the country of his grandsire;^e subjected will Garthan be: it will give pledge to him. The spear will radiate from his grasp; he will clothe the minstrel with varied vestments; he will scatter the mangled bodies as the spray.

I am singing to my liege, to my supporter Owain; the swayer of Britain, the collector of spoils. Ample the throng round his person to share his splendid gifts; bards resorting round the viands, round three liquors.^f

Well seeming his chariot to range through hosts, that makes

^d Deira and Bernicia were the low and high lands of the eastern parts of Yorkshire and Durham.

^e Bleddyn ab Cynvyn, who was Prince of all Powys.

^f I imagine these three liquors to be those mentioned in the Welsh laws, under the titles of *cerevisia*, or *cwrw*, *cerevisia aromatis*, or *bragawd*, and mead.

conspicuous where the open tumult is raging. The willing boon is distributed by the expert hewer with the red notched blade: without a frown out of battle, with ardent bosom the over-daring trainer of the wolves stalks over dead carcasses on the plain.

In the court of Owain the generous, his prerogative, like the sun revolving, gives confidence to his domain and to his subjects. Where there is urbanity and safety, where there is the exultation of the ransomed; where there is libation without anxiety, without refusal, without any kind of want."

Can a finer or more appropriate character be drawn of an honourable, liberal, and hospitable chieftain?

HIRLAS.—Before I give an account of that particular kind of horn, from which the following poem has derived its title, it may not be amiss to mention the different purposes to which these instruments were applied in the times of the ancient Britons.

They are thus distinguished in the code of Welsh laws.

There are three royal horns, which should be of the buffalo.

First. The horn from which the king drinks.

Second. The war horn, by which his retinue is assembled.

Third. The horn of his chief huntsman.

And the value of each of them is one pound.

The huntsman bore the title of *Præfectus Venatorum*: he had a place assigned him in the hall, next to the family priest; and when he was required to take his oath, he swore by his horn and his leashes.

The social and convivial drinking horn is alluded to in this poem: it derived the appellation of HIRLAS, from its shape and

colour, not from its destined use; *Hir*, in Welsh, signifying *long*, and *glás*, *blue*. It was usually filled with mead at the banquet, and carried round by the *Pincerna*, or cup-bearer, to each guest. Many of these horns exist both in England and in Wales;^s but the most interesting of them still remains in the principality of North Wales, at the seat of Lord Penhryn in Caernarvonshire, whose house is said to occupy the site of the ancient residence of Roderic Molwynog Prince of Wales, who reigned in the year 720. It belonged to Piers Gruffydd, a naval officer, who distinguished himself in the defeat of the Spanish Armada. "It was a large bugle, or horn of an ox, enriched with sculptured silver, and a chain of the same metal. At one end are the initials of his own name, P. G. and of his father and mother, R. G. K. or Rhys and Katharine Gruffydd. An engraving of it is given by Mr. Jones, in his dissertation on the musical instruments of the Welsh; and he adds the following dimensions of it, viz. the diameter of the semi-circle $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches; the whole line of the semi-circle $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the diameter of the drinking end $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches: the diameter of the blowing end rather above $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of an inch. It contains about half a pint.

The office of cup-bearer appears to be the same as the *Pincerna*,^h whose office and privileges are described in the Welsh laws. He

^s Several plates of horns are engraved in the third volume of the Archæology; the most magnificent of which is that in the possession of the Earl of Ailesbury; and a coloured representation of another has been lately published in Mr. Whitaker's History of Craven in Yorkshire.

^h *Pincerna* dicitur *vini dispensator*, vel potius propinator, qui porrigit ex officio poculum domino suo, et dicitur *Pincerna*, quasi penum cernens, i. e. cellarium, quia semper habet oculos ad vinum suo tempore propinandum. Du Cange.

"Adveniat *Pincerna* potens Eppinus, et ipse
Pulchraque vasa manu, vinaque grata vehat."

was one of the fourteen who had the "*jus cathedræ in aulá*," or the right of sitting at the royal table. His duty was to pour out the wine, and serve it to the guests at table;ⁱ he was also entrusted with the care of the liquors, and had his proper allowance made him; namely, a cup full of *cerevisia*, or ale; another half full of *cerevisia aromatis*, which I imagine is *bragawd*: and another three parts full of *mead*.^k We may conclude, that their *pocula*, or cups, were of good measure, as the *Præfectus Aucupum*, or master of the hawks, was not permitted to drink in the hall, lest his drunkenness should be prejudicial to the birds committed to his care.

ⁱ Ille potum promet et portionem singulis debitam tradet.

^k Potus autem legitimi hæc est mensura. Pocula nempe ex quibus bibitur, *cerevisiæ* plena; *cerevisiæ aromatis*, semiplena; et *medonis* ad trientem plena.

THE HIRLAS,
OR
DRINKING HORN;
A POEM.

BY OWAIN CYVEILIOC

PRINCE OF POWYS.

No sooner had the dawn appear'd
Than the battle-shout was heard,
Proclaiming that the foe was nigh;
Signal to conquer or to die!
Witness, armour, stain'd with blood,
How we fought, and how we stood,
Unyielding, *Maelor*,^a round thy land,
To guard it from the spoiler's hand!

^a There were two districts in North Wales bearing the title of Maelor; but for distinction they were called English and Welsh Maelor; the former was situated on the south side of the Dee; the latter on the north side of the same river. Maelor Gymraeg and Saesneg were comots of the cantred of Uwchnant, and formed a part of the principality of Powys Madog.

Witness wounds and flowing gore,
 The toils, the deathful toils we bore !
 Th' invading foe I chased away
 Undaunted in the bloody fray ;
 Dastards struck with pale affright
 Finding safety but in flight !
 Who to provoke the brave shall dare,
 Let him of his wrath beware,
 Wrath that leads to certain fate
 Which he may rue, and rue too late !

Cup-bearer haste, and to thy stand,
 Fill the horn in *Rhys's*^b hand,
 Fill it high, with pleasure fill,
 Nor stint thy generous master's will :
 In *Owain's* hall thy prince's pride
 Is with his warriors to divide
 His feasts, his treasures, and the spoil,
 Fruit of their valour and their toil ;
 For to no common bounds confined,
Owain's hall is like his mind,
 To the carousal of whose mead
 A thousand opening portals lead.

^b The personage here alluded to was certainly the illustrious Rhys ap Gruffydh ap Rhys ap Theodor, whose character has already been described in my notes on the Itinerary, Book II. Chapter XII.; and whose portrait and effigy have been engraven. He joined with the princes of North Wales in this confederacy against the English monarch ; and Owen Cyveilioc, in compliment to so illustrious a guest, orders the first libations to be poured out to him by his cup-bearer.

Cup-bearer, when I want thee most,
 With duteous patience mind thy post,
 Reach me the horn, I know its power
 Acknowledged in the social hour ;
Hirlas, thy contents to drain
 I feel a longing, e'en to pain :
 Pride of feasts, profound and blue,
 Of the ninth wave's azure hue,
 The drink of heroes formed to hold,
 With art enrich'd and lid of gold !
 Fill it with *bragawd*^c to the brink,
 Confidence-inspiring drink ;
 Then fill'd, the horn to *Gwgan*^d bear,
 Warrior of the brow severe,

^c *Bragawd* was a liquor made by the ancients, of the wort of ale and mead fermented together ; or, in modern times, the best ale thrown into a second fermentation with honey and spices.

^d This was probably *Gwgan* of *Caer Einion*, situated between *Llanfair* and *Welshpool* in *Montgomeryshire*, and where there are the remains of a castle. He is distinguished by the epithet of *Traws*, froward or cross-grained ; and we have a curious account of his mission on an embassy to the court of *Rhys ab Gruffydd* Prince of *South Wales*, which is thus recorded by *Mr. Yorke* in his *Royal Tribes of Wales*.

“ When *David ap Owen Gwyned* Prince of *North Wales* had honourably received some fugitives from the south, his courtiers insisted that it was too much condescension in him to favour the subjects of a rival prince, who would not shew the least respect to any of his. *David*, upon hearing this, swore a great oath, that he would not rest until he should be satisfied whether the Lord *Rhys* of *South Wales* would not receive honourably some messengers sent by him to his court. He was some time before he could meet with a person who would undertake the trial. At length *Gwgan* of *Caer-Einion* in *Powys-land* set off on the embassy, and arriving at the Lord *Rhys*'s court, found him in a furious temper, beating his servants, and hanging his dogs. *Gwgan* knowing it was not a proper time to appear, delayed his message until the following day ; and then in a long speech, still extant in MS. he informed the noble descendant

Whose gallant actions loud proclaim
 His title to the cup of fame ;
 Bold in their course, unmatch'd for speed
 Are the whelps of *Gronwy's* breed ;
 Roused to battle, who can stand
 The force of the resistless band,
 Who, in every conflict hard,
 Merit well the bright reward ;
 Valued chiefs in sudden shout,
 Deliverers from disgraceful rout !
 Whose guardian voices ever near
*Sabrina's** shepherds joy to hear,
 Whose fame on record shall be found,
 So long as horns and mead go round.

Cup-bearer, fairly fill the horn
 Whose cover works of gold adorn ;
 Nay, let the frothing mead o'erflow,
 For in excess there's virtue now :

of Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr, that he came from David ap Owen of North Wales, to pay his friendly respects to him ; and if he was well received, he had commission from his prince to thank the Lord Rhys ; if not, he was ordered to act on the reverse. The Lord Rhys asked Gwgan, in what could his honourable reception exist ? Gwgan answered, “ In giving me a horse better than my own to carry me home, in giving me five pounds in money, and a suit of cloaths ; in giving my servant, who leads my horse by the bridle, a suit of cloaths, and one pound.” “ Come in (said the Lord Rhys), I will give thee the noblest steed in my stud, for the sake of thy royal master ; and above thy demand, I will double the sums, and treble the suits of apparel : which promise was performed, and Gwgan returned, to the mutual satisfaction of both princes.

* *Sabrina*, the ancient name of the river *Severn*.

And, if thou wish thy life prolong'd,
 See that its honours be not wrong'd.
 Then more brilliant let the wine
 Through transparent crystal shine,
 Which to *Gruffydd* thou shalt bear,
 Hero of the crimson spear,
Arwystli's^f princely chief, who shields
 From plundering foes her fertile fields;
 Of *Cynvyn's*^g stock, a hero born,
 His birth disgracing, who would scorn
 To shrink from glory, or by flight
 To shun the terrors of the fight.
 Flush'd from the feast to battle went
 My bright-armed chiefs, on fame intent,
 Like *Belyn's*^h sons of old, who fought,
 Inspired by mead they dearly bought,

^f *Arwystli* was a cantrev in Montgomeryshire, containing the comots of *Uwch Coed*, *Is Coed*, and *Gwerthrynion*. The town of *Lanydloes* appears to be situated within this hundred.

^g *Gruffydd* of the race of *Cynvyn*. This was *Gruffydd Maelor*, son of *Madoc* Prince of *Powys*, and uncle to *Owain Cyveilioc*. He was the ancestor of *Owain Glyndyvrddwy*, or *Owen Glendwr*, as the English write the name.

^h *Belyn*. This is not *Belinus Magnus*, whose British name is *Beli*, but one of the two *Belyns* mentioned in the *Triads*. One of these was a chieftain of *Lleyn* in *Arvon*; and the other was son of *Cynvelyn*, whose name is united with that of another chieftain of the *Hirlas*, in the following triad. "The three splendid retinues of the isle of Britain. The retinue of *Belyn* son of *Cynvelin* (*Cunobeline*) in the war of *Caradoc* (*Caractacus*) son of *Brân*; the retinue of *Mynyddoc Erddyn* in *Cattraeth*; and the retinue of *Drywon*, son of *Nudd* the Generous, in the pass of *Arderdydd* in the north. Each of these came forward at their own expence, without staying to be summoned, and without asking either payment or gift from the country or prince; and on that account they were called the three splendid retinues."

Unbroken who their ground maintain'd,
Nor quitted whilst a foe remain'd.

Pour out the horn; 'tis my delight
A social converse to excite,
Till by each inspired guest
The powerful influence be confest.
Fill to the ruler of the fray,
Blood and havock mark his way,
When beneath his light broad shield
He flames along the embattled field.
To lion-heart *Ednyved*¹ fill,
To push the spear of matchless skill,
Who, than his broken buckler, needs
No other herald of his deeds;
Intrepid pair! who choose their post,
Still where the battle rages most,
Bursting the ranks, as whirlwinds sweep
The level bosom of the deep:
Rough-fronted warriors! by whose stroke
A golden shield would soon be broke;
Whose every blow fresh victims wait,
Whose every shaft is wing'd with fate;
Fighting to protect the bounds
Of lovely Garthan, such their wounds!

¹ *Ednyved*. This is probably the same warrior who has been celebrated in an ode by the Welch bard Cynddelw, wherein he is styled *Ednyved aerllew*, or *Ednyved Lion of battle*.

Heard ye the shout on Maelor's plain,
 Shrieks of agonising pain !
 When o'er the slaughter that was made
 Of shields was spread a mutual shade,
 And warriors, nobly as they strove,
 Their glittering weapons interwove.
 At Bangor, as of old, was seen
 Two contending chiefs between;
 A grove of fire whose spears became,
 Whilst the furies fed the flame :
 What time the horn of social mirth
 To death-provoking hate gave birth,
 And *Morach-Morvran's* ^k festal floor
 Betrayed ignoble waste of gore.

Pour out the horn, for, O ! how sweet
 With fellow-warriors 'tis to meet,
 And to the banquet of my hall
 Their country's brave deliverers call !
 To dauntless *Selyv, Gwygyr's* stay
 The boon so well deserved convey,
 On eagle wing whose vengeance flies,
 For he that dares provoke him dies.
 Next Madoc's only son demands
 The grateful tribute at thy hands,

^k The banquet of *Morach-Morvran* is often alluded to by the poets; and only alluded to. Perhaps an explanation of it may be found out, when all the *Mabinogion* or ancient tales shall be examined by the learned Welshman in whose hands they are deposited.

The generous *Tudyr* he, whose name
 Has often filled the trump of fame,
 Through gleaming steel who hews his way,
 Fierce as a wolf to seize his prey.
 Then fill again, and let the horn
 To *Ynyr's* warlike sons be born,
 Heroes, twin-lions, if they go
 To face, or to pursue the foe ;
 Who still are found where danger's nigh,
 The first to bleed, the last to fly ;
 Hemmed in by foes, and unrelieved,
 Who unexampled feats achieved,
 Glorious marks of which they bear
 The batter'd shield the ruddy spear,
 Their force impetuous to restrain,
 When hosts opposed, and bled in vain :
 For to turn their course aside
 Were to check the ocean tide ;
 When the storm with idle roar
 Spends its rage on *Talgarth's*¹ shore,

Cup-bearer, if thy life be dear,
 The horn high-privileged revere,
 The bugle *Hirlas* richly chased,
 Whose lid invites the lip to taste,

¹ This word implies the front or edge of a ridge of high land, and as there are many places so named, it is difficult to ascertain the precise spot alluded to in this passage.

To *Tudyr* be the cup addrest,
 And see the beverage be the best,
 For if thou disappoint the brave,
 Thy head shall answer for it, slave !
 Then fill again, the cup prepare,
 And to *Moreiddig* give his share ;
 Patron of the song and bard,
 Liberal source of rich reward !
 For whom each grateful harp was strung,
 The theme of every tuneful tongue !
 To praise who living laid his claim,
 Deserved, and found substantial fame,
 Unsatisfied, on trust, to have
 Its shade alone beyond the grave !
 Brothers of high aspiring soul
 Daring, impatient of controul !
 Who, if their country should require,
 Or prince command, would rush through fire,
 Whose services shall ever find
 A lasting record in my mind ;
 Youths who made up their want of age,
 In wisdom prematurely sage,
 In peace for counsel, yet by none,
 Or valour in the field, outdone,
 Still ardent in the hour of need,
 To hazard danger, and to bleed,
 In the front ranks for ever found
 To court an honourable wound,

Intrepid, panting to advance,
 And dip in blood the foremost lance,
 Twin boast of *Powys*! princely line!
 Favour'd *Mochnant*,^m they were thine!
 Ever watchful and at hand
 From the foe to guard thy land.
 But beyond our wishes blest,
 Of their full reward possest,
 Though vain to them are praises now,
 'Tis all their country can bestow.
 That groan was death! alas! the pain
 Sudden to change the festive strain;
 For, witness heaven! that the dart
 Which drank their life-blood reach'd my heart.
 Much lov'd *Moreiddig* how shall I
 Forget thee, or thy loss supply!

Cup-bearer, fill, be grief forgot,
 Our sighs are lost, they hear them not,
 Unconscious they of aught below,
 Or human joy or human woe!
 Then bring the mead, let mirth abound,
 And let the festive horn go round.
 To *Morgan* next thy step direct,
 The warrior claims distinct respect;
 Yet ah! the officious zeal forbear,
 His name will ever wake the tear;

^m *Mochnant* was a comot in the hundred of Yvyrnwy in Montgomeryshire.

For in my hall of him bereft,
 A melancholy blank is left :
 What torture for his prince to tell
 How brave he fought, how brave he fell !
 Too cruel fate ! decreed to feel
 The edge of the accursed steel.

Cup-bearer, fill, nor dare to scorn
 The richly wrought convivial horn,
 And know, no vulgar office thine
 To minister to guests like mine :
 For hadst thou seen on *Gwestun's* plain
 The deeds of those I entertain,
 Impetuous, prodigal of life,
 Who plung'd into the bloody strife ;
 When *Gronwy* fighting at his post
 Unshaken stood against an host ;
 Astonish'd thou hadst witness'd then
 To heroes acting more than men.
 What brave exploits were then perform'd,
 A leader slain, a castle storm'd,
 Whilst all who 'scaped the sword, became
 Victims of the fiercer flame.
 What time the neighbouring ocean stream
 Was wide illumin'd with the gleam ;
 Nor was this their only deed,
 A noble captive there they freed,

Meurig, Gruffydd's son, whose praise
 Inspires the bard's prophetic lays ;
 And when the daring toil was o'er
 Their limbs were bath'd with sweat and gore,
 For hill and dale enjoy'd the light
 Shot from the sun's meridian height.

Pour out the horn, for it is meet
 That *Owain's* ^a whelps of war we greet,
 Who unite with heart and shield,
 And spring together to the field ;
 Where thickest spears are heard to clash,
 And quicker lightnings seen to flash ;
Madoc and *Meilir* bred to toil
 Of bloody havoc and of spoil ;
 Active injustice to oppose,
 And train my troops to face the foes,
 Who know their ardour when to slack,
 And when to urge the fierce attack.
 In the mead's enlivening hour,
 That wakes the tale of ancient lore,
 Hast thou never yet been told,
 Abruptly, from the feast of old
 With the drink of heroes flush'd
 How *Cattraeth's* ^o lord to battle rush'd ?

^a Probably the sons of Owain Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales.

^o Mynyddoc Eiddyn (mentioned in a preceding note) was leader of the Britons in

When never on so just a fray,
 Closed a more disastrous day :
 But *Mynyddoc's* ° faithful guards
 Have been the favourite theme of bards :
 Graced by *Aneurin's* tuneful powers,
 Yet what were their exploits to our's ?
 Trust me, future strains will yield
 The palm to *Maelor's* nobler field,
 Where my dauntless warriors gave
 Freedom to th' imprison'd brave :
 Then let me not their fame to wrong,
 Defraud them of their wine and song.

Pour out, and let the horn be fill'd
 With choicest liquor, sweet, distill'd,
 Mead of spear impelling power
 In the battle's deathful hour :

the fatal battle of *Cattraeth*, the scene of which was in Scotland, and somewhere in the Lothian district, which formed the principal part of the country of the Ottadini. The singular military work in that country, now called Catrail, may probably have a reference to *Cattraeth*, and this battle may have been fought on some part of it.

° *Aneurin* of flowing Muse, called also Supreme of Bards, was one of the most celebrated of the Welsh poets, and a chieftain among the Ottodinian Britons, who bore a conspicuous part in the battle of *Cattraeth*, on which he composed a poem, which is printed in the *Myvyrian Archæology* with another piece entitled the *Odes of the Months*, being all that can be said with certainty to have been preserved of his works. He flourished early in the sixth century, and about the year 540 is supposed to have lost his territories in the north, in consequence of the battle of *Cattraeth*, so fatal to him and other confederate chiefs; and some documents say that he took refuge with the famous congregation of *Catwg*, in the country of the *Silures*, where he died about A. D. 570. *Cambrian Biography*, p. 9.

Crown the proud cup with gold o'erlaid,
 And be the grateful tribute paid
 In honour of the mighty dead,
 Who for their country's glory bled.
 Of cares that haunt a prince's breast,
 To rob him of his peace and rest,
 The sad variety is known
 To heaven and himself alone.
Daniel, our associate friend,
 Untractable, unapt to bend ;
 Insult who can never brook,
 Dangerous 'twere to overlook :
 Proud of notice ! quick his sense
 To feel neglect and take offence !
 Resentment in whose breast supplies
 A raging fire that never dies :
 Such guests to manage with success,
 Becomes a task of nice address.
 Bring then of mead a richer treat,
 To make the social joy complete,
 And by the taper's brilliant flame
 Give to every man the same.
 For hadst thou seen in *Llidwm's*^p land
 The feats of this my gallant band,
 Their prince, their leader to protect
 Hadst thou seen their shields collect,

^p This name is still preserved in that of a place in Shropshire called Lydham, situated at a short distance to the north of Bishop's Castle on the banks of the river Camlet.

How they every peril dared,
 When flaming *Cawres*^r round them glared;
 The men I honour here to-day
 I owe them more than I can pay:
 Then let no stint of mead be known,
 Or partial distribution shown!
 So may we live, that we may prove
 Guests worthy of the courts above;
 And when this little life is o'er
 Meet again to part no more:
 To live for ever in the sight
 Of the Supreme, the Lord of light,
 With whom alone the truth is found,
 And joys that know no end abound.

^r It is difficult to know what is the allusion to this word, which in a literal sense means a giantess.

Such is the information I have been able to gain respecting the persons and places mentioned in this poem; and I regret that it is not more complete. Many of the names of persons are so very common, that it would be difficult to identify them; but as to the places, I have no doubt but that they might be easily ascertained by some intelligent native Cambrian residing in the country.

THE
CIRCUITS THROUGH WALES;
A P O E M
BY OWAIN CYVEILIOC
PRINCE OF POWYS.

To share the festal joy and song,
Owain's train we move along;
Every passion now at rest,
That clouds the brow, or rends the breast,
But oppression's foes the same,
Quick to kindle into flame.

Setting off from *Mortyn*^a say,
Whither shall we bend our way?

^a I think this name should be read *Forddyn*, or *Forden*, a place situated in *Powysland*, between *Montgomery* and *Welsh-pool*. *Moreton*, near *Oswestry*, corresponds perhaps better with the text; but the distance from thence to *Keri* would have been too great for one day's journey, particularly as amusement and conviviality were the objects proposed by *Owain Cyveilioc* in this tour.

Quick dispatch thee, boy; take heed
 That thou slack not of thy speed,
 Or with idle gossip greet
 The loit'rer thou mayst chance to meet.
 Onward push, and look not back,
 Let nought divert thee from thy track.
 To *Keri*^b hie thee, lad, and say,
 Thither we will bend our way.

Keri greeted, onward haste,
 Thy time will not admit of waste.
 With no vulgar message sent,
 On thy duty be intent :
 Dread our anger to excite,
 Lest our vengeance on thee light.
 Then announce that, in our rounds,
 We visit next *Arwystli*'s^c bounds.

Told thy errand, stop not long,
 Herald of a princely throng :
 But onward still thy steps pursue,
Ceredig's^d confines in thy view.

^b *Keri*, or *Ceri*, is a village between Bishop's Castle and Newtown, in Montgomeryshire.

^c *Arwystli* is a cantref in Montgomeryshire, containing the comots of *Uwch Coed*, *Is Coed*, and *Gwerthrynion*. The town of *Lanydloes* appears to be situated within this hundred.

^d *Ceredig* is a synonymous term for the county of *Caerdigan*.

Thither with speed increasing go
 Swift as an arrow from a bow.
 And to *Penwedig*^e tidings bear,
 Of our approach and visit there.

Hence without delaying, boy,
 To toil familiar by employ;
 Scorn fatigue; and unsubdued
 Be thy painful march renew'd;
 Then with shout as hunter's loud,
 Publish this our message proud:
 That *Meirion's*^f mountains shall detain
 The course of our convivial train.

Quick proceed, the mountains crost,
 That not a moment may be lost,
 Fast by the margin of the deep,
 Where storms eternal uproar keep.
 The road to shorten, mend thy pace,
 By thy speed contracting space;
 And faithful to thy message, say,
 We take *Ardudwy*^g in our way.

^e Penwedig is a cantref in the north of Ceredigion, or Caerdiganshire, comprehending the country between the rivers Rheidiol and Dyfi in Caerdiganshire, and containing the comots of Genau y glyn, Pervedd, and Creuddyn.

^f Meirionydd is a cantref forming the south-west part of the county of Merionethshire.

^g Ardudwy is a comot of the cantref of Dunodig, extending from Barmouth, or Aber-maw in Merionethshire, to the Traeth Mawr in Caernarvonshire.

No delaying, boy, push on,
 Ardudwy visited, be gone.
 Haste the region to survey,
 Which *Merfyn* gloried erst to sway.
 To *Nevyn*^h go, inquire for Nest,
 And lodging there, become her guest.
 By which untold it may be seen,
 That we are on our road to *Lleyn*.ⁱ

Messenger, set off again,
 Forerunner of our gallant train,
 Hurry at our chief's command,
 Prince of liberal heart and hand:
 And as through *Arvon*^k winds thy way,
 Armed knight, we charge thee, say,
 That having journeyed many a mile,
 We mean to visit *Mona's isle*.

We are Owain's princely host,
 Spoils of foes the wealth we boast,
 Tyrant *Lloegyr*^l overthrown,
 Gives us title to renown.

^h *Nevyn* is a small village within the hundred of *Lleyn* in Caernarvonshire.

ⁱ *Lleyn* is a cantref in Caernarvonshire, containing the comots of *Maen*, *Din-lleyn*, and *Canologion*, being the flat part of the promontory stretching across from *Pwllheli* to *Nevyn*.

^k *Arvon*, a synonymous term for Caernarvonshire, and derived from its situation opposite to *Mona*; or Anglesey, *ar*, opposite, *von* or *mon*, a corruption of *Mona*.

^l *Lloegyr*. This word in a literal sense implies, *that opens or breaks out*, and is thus

Then, our toilsome marches o'er,
Can we want an opening door?
Shall we not find in *Rhós*^m a bed,
Whereon to lay the weary head?

Thy prince commands thee to depart,
(Except the mistress of his heart
Haply thou shouldst chance to meet,)
With strictest orders none to greet :
But quickly mount the fleetest steed,
Not confiding to thy speed ;
To *Llanerch*ⁿ tidings to convey
That we shall stop there on our way.

Off again, that region face,
Nurse of a renowned race ;
Who for many a gallant deed,
Deserve the horn, the hero's meed ;
Thither haste with our commands,
Quitting *Tyno Bedwal's*^o lands ;

explained by Mr. Owen in his Dictionary, " as being that part of ancient Britain, which was inhabited by the Belgians ; also England, south of Humber, exclusive of Wales, Cornwall, and Devon ; but now it is the popular name for England in general.

^m Rhós is a cantref in Caernarvonshire, containing the comots of Uwch Dulas, Is Dulas, and Creuddyn, being the district east of the Conwy river, extending along the sea-coast from thence to Abergele.

ⁿ Llanerch is a comot of the cantref of Dyffryn Clwyd, together with Coelogion and Ruthyn, and is situated in the vale of Clwyd, Denbighshire.

^o I can gain no intelligence whatever of this place, nor can find any local name at all corresponding with it. *Tyno*, means a little valley, and *Bidwal* (according to

And say we purpose to regale,
And taste of social joy in *Jâl*.^p

But tarry not, no respite take,
This witching region quick forsake,
Howe'er her sons to charm thy stay
May throw temptations in thy way ;
We forbid thee lingering there
Beyond the opening of the year.
To *Maelor*^q then thy steps direct,
That she our coming may expect.

This perform'd, yet loiter not,
Be thy very food forgot :
Every hind'rance put away,
All that can create delay.
To stop in *Maelor*'s not allow'd,
For farther still extends thy road,
To visit *Cynllaith*^r we propose,
Then haste the message to disclose.

Mr. Owen) signifies an encampment. May not, therefore, *Tyno Bedwal* mean some encampment or fortress in a vale? Owain did not make it a resting-place, but pursued his journey into *Yâl*.

^p *Jâl*, or *Yâl*, is a comot in the cantref of Rhiw, together with *Ystrad Alun*, and *Hob* or *Hope*, and was situated amongst the mountains to the north of the river *Dee* at *Llangollen*.

^q The account of *Maelor* has been given in my notes upon the *Hirlas*.

^r *Cynllaith*, together with *Mochnant Is Rhaiadry* and *Nantheudwy*, were comots of the cantref of *Rhaiadry*. It is a district situated S. W. of *Oswestry*, wherein is *Sycharth* in ruins, which we may suppose was the place where *Owain Cyveilioc* rested,

Thy progress then, with counsel due,
 And forms that suit our rank, pursue.
 Worthy of thy commission prove,
 For not like petty tribes we move ;
 Prompt to discharge thy duty go,
 And borrow fleetness from the roe,
 That *Mechain* * in her turn may hear
 Of our intended visit there.

What though our prince with prosperous rounds
 Has measured Cambria's lovely bounds ;
 Though conquer'd realms enrich our train,
 Heaven's kingdom yet is ours to gain,
 Which to possess may we aspire,
 Faith lending pinions to desire ;
 Where we our earthly journeys past
 May find eternal rest at last.

as it was afterwards the hospitable residence of a descendant of his family, the renowned Owen Glendor.

* There were two comots of this name; Mechain Is Coed, in the cantref of Evernwy; and Mechain Uwch Coed in the cantref of Llyswynav, which had also the comot of Caer Einion, in which there was a castle, which Owain Cyveilioc won in the year 1167, and burned to the ground.

DESCRIPTION
OF
WALES,
BY
GIRALDUS DE BARRI;
WITH ANNOTATIONS
BY
SIR RICHARD COLT HOARE, BART.
F. R. S. F. A. S.

FIRST PREFACE.

TO

STEPHEN LANGTON,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.*

I who at the expense of three years labour, arranged a short time ago, in three parts, the Topography of Ireland, with a description of its natural curiosities, and who afterwards, by two years study, completed in two parts the Prophetic History of its Conquest ; and

^b Stephen Langton succeeded to Hubert Walter in the archbishopric of Canterbury, A. D. 1207, and was consecrated by the Pope at Viterbo. He was a man of great learning, and composed many works on religious subjects ; a catalogue of which may be seen in Bale, p. 274.

The historian of Canterbury (Hasted) says, “ that having presided as archbishop for 22 years, he died at his park at Slindon, on the ninth of July, 1228, and was buried in his own cathedral, in the chapel of Saint Michael, where his tomb, being a plain raised one, coffin-fashioned, having a cross patee sculptured on the top, is still remaining ; but the chapel having been afterwards pulled down, and rebuilt on a smaller scale, this tomb, which is at the east end of it, is now left partly within, and partly without the wall of the chapel, which crosses the middle of it.” Leland, in his Itinerary, Tom. VI. p. 4, says, “ In the crosse ile that standeth byneth the degrees of the quire southward, ly buried yn St. Anne’s chapelle, Simon (Stephen) Langton, for whom

who, by publishing the Itinerary of the Holy Man (Baldwin) through Cambria, prevented his laborious mission from perishing in obscurity, do now propose, in the present little work, to give some account of this my native country, and to describe the genius of its inhabitants, so entirely distinct from that of other nations. And this production of my industry, I have determined to dedicate to you, illustrious Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, as I before ascribed to you my Itinerary; considering you as a man no less distinguished by your piety, than conspicuous for your learning; though so humble an offering may possibly be unworthy the acceptance of a personage, who from his eminence deserves to be presented with works of the greatest merit.

Some indeed object to this my undertaking, and apparently from

the schism begun betwixt King John and the Bishop of Rome. This Langton translated Thomas Bekket, and made the exceding hygh, longe, and broode haulle in the bishope's palace, and made, as I harde, the stately horologe in the south crossid isle of the chirche."

It appears that Giraldus composed his Itinerary and Description of Wales, either in the year 1188, during his progress through the country, or in the following year, when he accompanied King Henry into France; for on his return home through Flanders, he relates a curious anecdote of an accident which befell his servant and baggage entrusted to his care; adding that of all his losses, that of his journals was by far the most severe (see his Life); he also says that he composed these works, when he was about the age of forty. But by his dedication of them all to Stephen, who was not raised to the see of Canterbury till the year 1207, we might almost suppose, that the publication of them was suspended till that period. There is, however, one manuscript in the British Museum, of the Description of Wales, dedicated to Hubert, the predecessor of Stephen, who was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in the year 1193, and I am inclined to think, that Giraldus might have published his works on Wales during the time of Hubert, and might afterwards, owing to the disagreement which took place between them, have altered the dedication, and inscribed them to Stephen.

motives of affection, compare me to a painter, who rich in colours, and like another Zeuxis, eminent in his art, is endeavouring with all his skill and industry to give celebrity to a cottage, or to some other contemptible object, whilst the world is anxiously expecting from his hand a temple or a palace. Thus they wonder that I, amidst the many great and striking subjects which the world presents, should choose to describe and to adorn, with all the graces of composition, such remote corners of the earth as Ireland and Wales.

Others again, reproaching me with greater severity, say, that the gifts which have been bestowed upon me from above, ought not to be wasted upon these insignificant objects, nor lavished in a vain display of learning on the commendation of princes, who from their ignorance and want of liberality, have neither taste to appreciate, nor hearts to remunerate literary excellence. And they further add, that every faculty which emanates from the Deity, ought rather to be applied to the illustration of celestial objects, and to the exaltation of his glory, from whose abundance all our talents have been received; every faculty (say they) ought to be employed in praising him from whom, as from a perennial source, every perfect gift is derived, and from whose bounty every thing which is offered with sincerity, obtains an ample reward. But since excellent histories of other countries have been composed and published by writers of eminence, I have been induced, by the love I bear to my country and to posterity, to believe that I should perform neither an useless nor an unacceptable service, were I to unfold the hidden merits of my native land; to rescue from obscurity those glorious actions which have been hitherto imperfectly described, and to

bring into repute, by my method of treating it, a subject till now regarded as contemptible.

What indeed could my feeble and unexercised efforts add to the histories of the destruction of Troy, Thebes, or Athens, or to the conquest of the shores of Latium? Besides, to do what has been already done, is, in fact, to be doing nothing; I have, therefore, thought it more eligible to apply my industry to the arrangement of the history of my native country, hitherto almost wholly overlooked by strangers; but interesting to my relations and countrymen; and from these small beginnings to aspire by degrees to works of a nobler cast. From these inconsiderable attempts, some idea may be formed with what success, should Fortune afford an opportunity, I am likely to treat matters of greater importance. For although some things should be made our principal objects, whilst others ought not to be wholly neglected; I may surely be allowed to exercise the powers of my youth, as yet untaught and unexperienced, in pursuits of this latter nature, lest by habit I should feel a pleasure in indolence and in sloth, the parent of vice.

I have therefore employed these studies as a kind of introduction to the glorious treasures of that most excellent of the sciences, which alone deserves the name of science; which alone can render us wise to rule and to instruct mankind; which alone the other sciences follow, as attendants do their queen. Laying therefore in my youth the foundations of so noble a structure, it is my intention, if God will assist me and prolong my life, to reserve my maturer years for composing a treatise upon so perfect, so sacred a subject: for according to the poet,

“*Ardua quippe fides robustos exigit annos,*”

“The important concerns of faith require a mind in its full vigour ;” I may be permitted to indulge myself for a short time in other pursuits ; but in this I should wish not only to continue, but to die.

But before I enter on this important subject, I demand a short interval, to enable me to lay before the public my treatise on the Instruction of a Prince, which has been so frequently promised, as well as the Description of Wales, which is now before me, and the Topography of Britain.

Of all the British writers, Gildas alone appears to me (as often as the course of my subject leads me to consult him) worthy of imitation ; for by committing to paper the things which he himself saw and knew, and by declaring rather than describing the desolation of his country, he has compiled a history more remarkable for its truth than for its elegance.

Giraldus therefore follows Gildas, whom he wishes he could copy in his life and manners ; becoming an imitator of his wisdom rather than of his eloquence ; of his mind rather than of his writings ; of his zeal rather than of his style ; of his life rather than of his language.

SECOND PREFACE.

TO THE SAME.

WHEN, amidst various literary pursuits, I first applied my mind to the compilation of history, I determined, lest I should appear ungrateful to my native land, to describe, to the best of my abilities, my own country and its adjoining regions; and afterwards, under God's guidance, to proceed to a description of more distant territories. But since some leading men (whom we have both seen and known) shew so great a contempt for literature, that they immediately shut up within their bookcases the excellent works with which they are presented, and thus doom them, as it were, to a perpetual imprisonment; I entreat you, illustrious Prelate, to prevent the present little work, which will shortly be delivered to you, from perishing in obscurity: and because this, as well as my former productions, though of no transcendant merit, may hereafter prove to many a source of entertainment and instruction, I entreat you generously to order it to be made public, by which it will acquire reputation; and I shall consider myself sufficiently rewarded for my trouble, if withdrawing for a while from your religious and secular occupations, you would kindly condescend to peruse this book, or at least give it an attentive hearing; for in times like these, when no one remunerates literary productions, I neither desire nor

expect any other recompense: not that it would appear in any respect inconsistent, however there exists among men of rank a kind of conspiracy against authors, if a Prelate so eminently conspicuous for his virtues, for his abilities both natural and acquired, for irreproachable morals, and for munificence, should distinguish himself likewise by becoming the generous and sole patron of literature. To comprise your merits in a few words, the lines of Martial addressed to Trajan, whilst serving under Dioclesian, may be deservedly applied to you:

“Laudari debes quoniam sub principe duro,
“Temporibusque malis, ausus esse bonus.”

And those also of Virgil to Mæcenas, which extol the humanity of that great man:

“Omnia cum possis tanto tam clarus amico,
“Te sensit nemo posse nocere tamen.”

Many indeed remonstrate against my proceedings, and those particularly who call themselves my friends insist that, in consequence of my violent attachment to study, I pay no attention to the concerns of the world, or to the interests of my family, and that on this account I shall experience a delay in my promotion to wordly dignities; that the influence of authors, both poets and historians, has long since ceased; that the respect paid to literature vanished with literary princes; and that in these degenerate days very different paths lead to honours and opulence. I allow all this, I readily allow it, and acquiesce in the truth. For the unprincipled and covetous attach themselves to the court, the churchmen to their

books, and the ambitious to the public offices;^b but as every man is under the influence of some darling passion, so the love of letters and the study of eloquence have from my infancy had peculiar charms of attraction. Impelled by this thirst for knowledge, I have carried my researches into the mysterious works of nature farther than the generality of my cotemporaries, and for the benefit of posterity have rescued from oblivion the remarkable events of my own times. But this object was not to be secured without an indefatigable, though at the same time an agreeable exertion; for an accurate investigation of every particular is attended with much difficulty; it is difficult to produce an orderly account of the investigation and discovery of truth; it is difficult to preserve from the beginning to the end a connected relation unbroken by irrelevant matter; and it is difficult to render the narration no less elegant in the diction, than instructive in its matter, for in prosecuting the series of events, the choice of happy expressions is equally perplexing, as the search after them is painful. Whatever is written requires the most intense thought, and every expression should be carefully polished before it be submitted to the public eye; for by exposing itself to the examination of the present and of future ages, it must necessarily undergo the criticism not only of the acute, but also of the dissatisfied reader. Words merely uttered are soon forgotten, and the admiration or disgust, which they occasioned, is no more; but writings once published are never lost, and remain as lasting

^b The literal meaning of the word *pyxis* here used by Giraldus, is a box, which by Du Cange is interpreted, *Thesaurus, fiscus publicus, locus ubi asservantur pecuniæ publicæ*, i. e. the public exchequer; it is also used in the sense of a ballot-box, in which votes are collected, *Pyxis capituli, in quâ suffragia colliguntur, &c.*

memorials either of the glory or the disgrace of the author. Hence the observation of Seneca, that the malicious attention of the envious reader dwells with no less satisfaction on a faulty than on an elegant expression, and is as anxious to discover what it may ridicule, as what it may commend : as the poet also observes :

“ *Discit enim citiùs, meminitque libentius illud*

“ *Quod quis deridet, quàm quod probat et veneratur.*”

Among the pursuits therefore most worthy of commendation, this holds by no means the lowest rank ; for History, as the moral philosopher declares, “ is the record of antiquity, the testimony of ages, the light of truth, the soul of memory, the mistress of conduct, and the herald of ancient times.”

This study is the more delightful, as it is more honourable to produce works worthy of being quoted, than to quote the works of others ; as it is more desireable to be the author of compositions, which deserve to be admired, than to be esteemed a good judge of the writings of others ; as it is more meritorious to be the just object of other men’s commendations, than to be considered an adept in pointing out the merits of others. On these pleasing reflections I feed and regale myself ; for I would rather resemble Jerom than Cræsus, and I prefer to riches themselves the man who is capable of despising them. With these gratifying ideas I rest contented and delighted, valuing moderation more than intemperance, and an honourable sufficiency more than superfluity ; for intemperance and superfluity produce their own destruction, but their opposite virtues never perish : the former vanish, but the latter, like eternity, remain for ever : in short, I prefer praise to lucre, and reputation to riches.

DESCRIPTION
OF
W A L E S.

DESCRIPTION

OF

W A L E S.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

LENGTH AND BREADTH OF WALES.—NATURE OF ITS SOIL.—
THREE REMAINING TRIBES OF BRITONS.

CAMBRIA, which by a corrupt and common term, though less proper, is in modern times called Wales, is about two hundred miles long, and one hundred broad. The length from Port Gordber in Anglesey to Port Eskewin in Monmouthshire is eight days journey in extent; the breadth from Porth Mawr, or the great Port of Saint David's, to Ryd-helic, which in Latin means *Vadum salicis*, or the ford of the Willow, and in English is called Willow-forde, is four days journey. It is a country very strongly defended by

high mountains, deep vallies, extensive woods, rivers, and marshes; insomuch that from the time the Saxons took possession of the island, the remnants of the Britons, retiring into these regions, could never be entirely subdued either by the English or by the Normans; those, who inhabited the southern angle of the island, which took its name from the general Corinæus, made less resistance, as their country was more defenceless: the third division of the Britons, who obtained a part of Britany in Gaul, were transported thither, not after the defeat of their nation, but long before, by King Maximus; who in consequence of the hard and continued warfare which they underwent with him, were rewarded by the royal munificence with those districts in France.*

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER I.

PORT GORDBER.—This port is written *Gordwr* by Humphrey Lhwyd in his Breviary of Britain, and is probably a corruption from Gorddyar, a roaring, applied to the sea, as Gorddyar môr, the roaring of the sea.

* Little Brytaine is a countrie in France, called in Cæsar's time Armorica, and after inhabited by Brytaines, who about the yeare of Christ 384, under the conduct of Conan Lord of Meriadoc, now Denbighland, went out of this isle with Maximus the tyrant, to his aid against the Emperour Gratianus, and winning the said countrie of Armorica, (which Maximus gave Conan and his people) slue and drave out all the old inhabitants thereof, planting themselves in the same, where they to this daie speake the Brytish toong, being the third remnant of the ancient Brytaines. Powel, p. 2.

Port Eskewin.—This harbour, now known by the name of Portscwit, (and recorded in the Triades as one of the three passages or ferries in the Isle of Britain,) is situated on the Welsh side of the Bristol Channel, at a short distance from the lower passage.

Port Mawr, or the large port, is thus mentioned by Leland in his Itinerary, Tom. V. p. 28, 29: "About a mile of is Port Mawre, where is a great sande with a shorte estuary into the lande. And sum say that there hath beene a castel at or aboute Port Mawr, but the tokens be not very evidente."

Rhyd-helyg, or the ford of the Willow—I imagine this place is Walford in Herefordshire, near the banks of the river Wye.

Corinæus.—It is said that Brutus (the first King of the Trojan dynasty, according to the fable blended with the true history of Britain by the early chroniclers), in his journey towards Britain, met with a company of Trojans, who had fled from Troy with Antenor and Corinæus at their head, who submitted themselves to Brutus, and joined his company; which Corinæus being a very valiant man rendered great service to Brutus during his wars in Gaul and Britain. Brutus, departing from the coast of Armorica, landed at Totnes in Devonshire. The venerable Bede says, that the first Britons came hither *ex tractu Armoricano*; but no inference can be drawn from thence that the Britons of Armorica, who were first planted there by the tyrant Maximus, about 400 years *after* Christ, gave the name to this island, which was called Britain by Aristotle, about 400 years *before* Christ. Brutus having subdued the island, divided it amongst his people; and he gave Cornwall to Corinæus, who, as it is said, called it after his own name, Cernyw. Lewis's Ancient History of Britain, p. 28.

The historian Camden, in his account of Cornwall, says, “ licet alii à nescio quo Bruti socio, dictam velint Cornwalliam, Coriniamque meminent, juxtà fabulosi poetæ carmen :

“ Pars Corinæa datur Corinæo, de duce nomen
“ Patria, deque viro gens Corinensis habet.”

CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT DIVISION OF WALES.

W^ALES was in ancient times divided into three parts nearly equal, consideration having been paid, in this division, more to the value than the quantity or proportion of territory. Venedotia, now called North Wales ; Demetia, or South Wales, which in British is called Deheubarth, that is the southern part ; and Powys, the middle or eastern district. Roderic the Great, or Rhodri Mawr, who was king over all Wales, was the cause of this division. He had three sons, Mervin, Anarawt, and Cadelh, amongst whom he partitioned the whole principality : North Wales fell to the lot of Mervin ; Powys to Anarawt ; and Cadelh received the portion of South Wales, together with the general good wishes of his brothers and the people ; for although this district greatly exceeded the others in quantity, it was the least desirable from the number of noble chiefs, or Uchelwyr,^a

^a Uchelwyr, so called from *Uchel*, high, and *gwr*, a man.

men of a superior rank, who inhabited it, and were often rebellious to their lords, and impatient of control. But Cadelh, on the death of his brothers, obtained the entire dominion of Wales,^b as did his successors till the time of Theodor, whose descendants, Rhys son of Theodor; Gruffydh son of Rhys; and Rhys son of Gruffydh, the ruling Prince in our time, enjoyed only (like the father) the sovereignty over South Wales.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER II.

ALTHOUGH it is the opinion of most writers, that Roderic the Great was the first person who divided the kingdom of Wales into three provinces, which he distributed to his three sons; I shall prove, from ancient authorities, that long before the destruction of Britain, it was so divided.

There is extant a very old treatise on the British laws, which testifies, that after the death of Vortipor, the inhabitants of Venedotia, Powys, and Demetia assembled together, for the purpose of electing a new king, and that they elected Maelgwn King of North Wales to be their sovereign. And the British histories also testify, that Morgan King of Demetia, or West Wales, Cadvan King of Venedotia, or North Wales, and Bledrick King of Cornwall, came to

^b This assertion is unfounded, if we give credit to the Welsh Chronicle, which dates the death of Cadelh in 907, and that of Anarawd in 913.

the assistance of Brochmael King of Powys and Earl of Chester, against Ethelfred King of Northumberland, whom they defeated in a bloody battle at Bangor in Flintshire; upon which Cadvan was unanimously proclaimed King of Britain. All these things happened long before the birth of Roderic, who cannot therefore be said to have been the first author of these three divisions of Wales.

This note, given by the annotator Dr. Powel to the Latin edition of Giraldus, is in a great measure corroborated by Lewis, in his ancient history of Britain, and Humphrey Lhwyd in his Breviary. The former says, that Maelgwn Gwined, the son of Caswallon Llawhir, &c. being King of North Wales, was made King of Britain, A. D. 552; and the latter adds more particularly, “ that Wales, after the British destruction, was divided into six regions, as I read of late in a very auncient booke, written of the lawes of the Britaynes. For (sayth that booke) after that the Saxons had vanquished the Britaynes, and obtayned the scepter of the realme, and the crowne of London; all the people of Wales assembled together at the mouth of the river Devey, to choose a kinge. And thither came men of Gwynedh (or North Wales); men of Powys; men of Deheubarth, (or South Wales); men of Reynwicc, or Herefordshire; men of Eylluc, or Monmouthshire; and men of Morgania, or Glamorganshire; and they chose Maelgwn to be their kynge.”

Our author Giraldus differs from the Welsh Chronicle, in making Mervin the *eldest* son of Roderic, instead of Anarawd; and in giving him the principality of North Wales, and that of Powys, to Anarawd. Vaughan, in his scarce little tract entitled *British*

Antiquities revived 1662, differs in his opinion with respect to Giraldus, and endeavours to prove, that Cadell Prince of South Wales was the *eldest* son of Roderic, who has also that superiority given him in the Cambrian Biography.¹

The Welsh Chronicle informs us, that in the year 876, Roderic the Great gave Aberfraw, with North Wales, to his eldest son

¹ It appears as if the seniority of the sons of Roderic, had been made a matter of dispute in Wales; the south giving the precedence to Cadell, and the north to Anarawd. The printed Welsh Chronicle, and Vaughan of Hengwrt, take the part of the latter; and they are ably opposed by a writer of South Wales. I think the weight of evidence and probability must be in favour of South Wales. As a fresh testimony on the same side, I shall add some verses by Cynddelw Brydydd Llychwin.—Owen.

1.

Trimab i Rodri, mewn tremyn y caid,
Cadell, 'Narawd, Mervyn;
Rhànu a' wnaed à vu rau un,
Rhoddiad holl Gymru rhyddyn'.

Three sons to Rhodri, in prospect they were had,
Cadell, Anarawd, and Mervyn;
A partition was made of what was the share of one,
The distribution of all Wales between them.

2.

Rhoddiad à gafad er gwell don avel,
Dinevwr i Cadell;
Mab hynav ei ystavell,
Y pè nav oedd; pw vai well?

A distribution was obtained for the better holding of the title,
Dinevor to Cadell;
The *eldest* child of his chamber.
The chief was he; who could there be better?

Anarawd : Dinevawr, with South Wales, to his second son Cadellh ;
and Mathraval and Powys to his third son Mervyn, on whose death

3.

Anarawd, gwastawd dan go'yn gyvan
A gavas Aberfro ;
Daionus o'i dŷ yno
Ve biau breiniau a bro.

Anarawd, of continued record, completely
He did obtain Aberfraw ;
Goodly in his mansion there,
He claims privileges and country.

4.

Gwir, gwir à Dd'wedir, i ddyn, pai ieuane,
Rhos Powys i Vervyn :
Llyma'r modd, val adroddyn'
Y treir rhwng y triwyr hyn.

Truth, truth is declared, to a man, being young,
The giving of Powys to Mervyn :
Lo, this the manner, as they have recorded,
That things are regulated between these three men.

From the Archæology.

A. D. 872. The country of Wales was divided into three kingdoms, between the three sons of Rhodri, that is to say, Cadell, the eldest son, had Ceredigion and Dyved ; Anarawd, the second, had Gwynedd ; and Mervyn, the third, had Powys, leaving the district between the Severn and Wy to the descendants of Caradoc Vreichvras (brawny arm), and Morganwg and Gwent to the descendants of Morgan the Courteous ; so that Wales, and the nation of the Cymry came under five royal tribes. Chronicle of Jevan Brechva.

Rhodri Mawr instituted a new regulation in the government of the Cymry (Welsh) as far as his power extended ; Cadell, his *eldest* son, had Ceredigion, and he had his court at Dinevwr. Gwynedd he gave to Anarawd his son, who had his court at Aberfraw in Môn. Powys he gave to Mervyn his son, and he had his court at Mathraval. The eldest was tributary to the King of London, and the eldest received a tribute

Cadelh forcibly seized his principality of Powys, and thus became possessor of two-thirds of the kingdom. He died A. D. 907, leaving issue three sons, the eldest of whom Howel, surnamed the Good, succeeded to the principality of South Wales; Anarawd King of North Wales, died A. D. 913, and was succeeded by his eldest son Edwal Voel.

from the other two; and they were styled the three diademed princes, because that they, more particularly than any before them, wore frontlets round their crowns, as kings were wont to do in other countries; for previous to that time, the kings and princes of the nation of the Cymry only wore gold bands. To the eldest of the diademed princes Rhodri gave the sovereignty, enjoining them to defend the country and nation of the Cymry against the assault of enemies, and against anarchy. A. D. 876, Cadell, son of Rhodri Mawr, became King of Ceredigion; and Anarawd, son of Rhodri, King of Gwynedd; and Mervyn, son of Rhodri, King of Powys. Chronicle of Caradoc Llancarvan.

CHAPTER III.

GENEALOGY OF THE PRINCES OF WALES.

THE following is the generation of princes of South Wales; Rhys son of Gruffydh, Gruffydh son of Rhys, Rhys son of Theodor, Theodor son of Eioneon, Eioneon son of Owen, Owen son of Howel Dha, or Howel the Good, Howel son of Cadellh son of Roderic the Great. The princes of South Wales derived their origin from Cadellh son of Roderic the Great. The princes of North Wales descended from Mervin in this manner; Llewelyn son of Jorwerth, Jorwerth son of Owen, Owen son of Gruffydh, Gruffydh son of Conan, Conan son of Jago, Jago son of Edoual, Edoual son of Meyric, Meyric son of Anarawt, Anarawt son of Mervin son of Roderic the Great; Anarawt leaving no issue, the princes of Powys have their own particular descent.

It is worthy of remark, that the Welsh bards and singers, or reciters, have the genealogies of the aforesaid princes, written in the Welsh language, in their ancient and authentic books; and also retain them in their memory from Roderic the Great to B. M.^a; and

^a B. M. This abbreviation, which in every manuscript I have seen of Giraldus, has been construed into *Beatam Mariam*: and in many of them is written *Beatam Virginem*; may, with much greater propriety, be applied to *Belinus Magnus*, or Beli the Great, a distinguished British king, to whom most of the British pedigrees ascended; and because his name occurred so frequently in them, it was often written short B. M. which some men, in derision of the Welsh pedigrees, interpreted *Beata Maria*.

from thence to Sylvius, Ascanius, and Æneas; and from the latter produce the genealogical series in a lineal descent, even to Adam.

But as an account of such long and remote genealogies may appear to many persons trifling rather than historical, we have purposely omitted them in our compendium.

CHAPTER IV.

CANTREDS. ROYAL PALACES. CATHEDRALS.

SOUTH WALES contains twenty-nine cantreds; North Wales, twelve; Powys, six: many of which are at this time in the possession of the English and Franks; for the country now called Shropshire, formerly belonged to Powys, and the place where the castle of Shrewsbury stands, bore the name of Pengwern, or the head of the Alder Grove. There were three royal seats in South Wales: Dinevor in South Wales, removed from Caerleon; Aberfraw in North Wales; and Pengwern in Powys.

Wales contains fifty-four cantreds; the word *Cantref* is derived from *Cant* a hundred, and *Tref* a village; and means in the British and Irish languages such a portion of land as contains a hundred villages.

There are four cathedral churches in Wales: Saint David's, upon

the Irish sea, David the Archbishop being its patron: it was in ancient times the metropolitan church, and the district once contained twenty-four cantreds, though at this time only twenty-three; for Ergengl, in English called Urchenfeld,^a is said to have been formerly within the diocese of Saint David's, and sometimes was placed within that of Landaff. The see of Saint David's had twenty-five successive archbishops; and from the time of the removal of the pall into France, to this day, twenty-two bishops; whose names and series, as well as the cause of the removal of the archiepiscopal pall, may be seen in our Itinerary, Vol. II. Chapter I.

In South Wales also is situated the Bishopric of Landaff, near the Severn sea, and near the noble castle of Caerdyf; Bishop Teilo being its patron: it contains five cantreds, and the fourth part of another, namely, Senghennyd.

In North Wales between Anglesey and the Eryri Mountains is the see of Bangor, under the patronage of Daniel the Abbot: it contains about nine cantreds.

In North Wales also is the poor little cathedral of Llan-Elwy, or Saint Asaph, containing about six cantreds, to which Powys is subject.

^a A great lordship in Herefordshire, a particular account of which is given in the annotations on this chapter.

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER IV.

THE limits of the various districts of Wales and their names have been retained from a very remote period to the present time, independent of the arrangement of them into shires, as imposed by the English Government. The following table contains those ancient divisions from a survey made by Llewelyn, the last Prince of Wales, which is preserved in the Red Book of Jesus College, Oxford, and printed in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, Volume II. page 606.

In this manner the hundreds and comots of all Wales were divided in the time of Llywelyn ab Gruffydd, the last Prince of the Welsh.

Wales consists of three provinces; one depending on Aberfraw in Môn; the second on Dinevwr, in the south; and the third on Mathraval, in Powys.

To Aberfraw were assigned the 15 hundreds of Gwynedd, as here described.

MON. (Anglesey.)

1. The hundred of Aberfraw, with its comots of Llivon and Malltraeth.

2. The hundred of Rhosyr, with its comots of Tindaethwy and Menai.

3. The hundred of Cemaes, with its comots of Twrcelyn and Talybolion.

CAER YN ARVON.

4. The hundred of Aber, with its comots of Llechwedd Uchav, Llechwedd Isav, and Nant Conwy.

5. The hundred of Arvon. with its comots of Uwch Gwyrvai and Is Gwyrvai.

6. The hundred of Dunodig, with its comots of Ardudwy and Eivionydd.

7. The hundred of Lleyn, with its comots of Maen, Dinlleyn and Canologion.

MEIRIONYDD.

8. The hundred of Meirion, with its comots of Tal-y-bont, Penal, and Ystum-aner.

9. The hundred of Arwystli, with its comots of Uwch Coed, Is Coed, and Gwerthrynion.

10 The hundred of Penllyn, with its comots of Uwch Meloch, Is Meloch, and Mignant.

PERVEDDWLAD.

(Middle Country.)

11 The hundred of Ystrad, with its comots of Hiraethog and Cynmeirch.

12. The hundred of Rhyvoniog, with its comots of Uwch Aled and Is Aled.

13. The hundred of Rhôs, with its comots of Uwch Dulas, Is Dulas, and Creuddyn.

14. The hundred of Dyfryn Clwyd, with its comots of Coelogion, Llanerch, and Rhuthyn.

15. The hundred of Tegeingyl, with its comots of Cynsyllt, Prestatyn, and Rhuddlan.

Thus there were found in that province 15 hundreds and 38 comots.

The province of Mathraval contained the following hundreds and comots.

POWYS MADOG.

1. The hundred of Barwn, with its comots of Dinmael, Edeyrnion, and Glyn-Dyvrwy.

2. The hundred of Rhiw, with its comots of Jâl, Ystrad-Alun, and Hôb.

3. The hundred of Uwchnant, with its comots of Merfordd, Maelor Gymraeg, and Maelor Seisonig.

4. The hundred of Trevred, with its comots of Croes Vaen, Trev-y-Waen, and Croes Oswalt.

5. The hundred of Rhaiadyr, with its comots of Mochnant is Rhaiadyr, Cynllaith, and Nantheudwy.

POWYS GWENWYNWYN.

6. The hundred of Evyrnwy, with its comots of Mochnant uwch Rhaiadyr, Mechain is Coed, and Llanerch Hudol.

7. The hundred of Ystrad, with its comots of Deuddwr, Gorddwr Isav, and Ystrad Marchell.

8. The hundred of Llyswynav, with its comots of Caer Einion and Mechain uwch Coed.

9. The hundred of Cydewain, with its comots of Uwch Hanes (Afes) and Is Hanes (Afes).

10. The hundred of Cynan, with its comots of Cyveiliog and Mawddwy.

RHWNG GWY A HAVREN.

(between the Wye and Severn.)

11. The hundred of Maelienydd, with its comots of Ceri, Bud-dygre, Rhiwlallt, and Glyn Jeithon.

12. The hundred of Elvel, with its comots of Uwch Mynydd, Is Mynydd, and Dyvnog.

13. The hundred of the Clawdd (or Dyke), with its comots of Teveidiad, Swydd Hynogion, and Penallt.

14. The hundred of Buallt, with its comots of Y Waen (Swydd y Van, Dinan) Swydd Trevlys, and Is Irwon.

Thus there were found, in the province of Mathraval, 14 hundreds and 40 comots.

The province of Dinevwr had the following hundreds:

CEREDIGION.

1. The hundred of Penwedig, with its comots of Genau y Glyn, Pervedd, and Creuddyn.

2. The hundred of Canol, with its comots of Mevenydd, Anhnog, and Penardd.

3. The hundred of Cadell, with its comots of Caerwedros and Mabwynion.

4. The hundred of Seirwen (Hirwaen), with its comots of Gwionionydd, and Iscoed.

CAERVYRDDIN. (Caermarthen).

5. The hundred of Finiog, with its comots of Hirvryn, Pervedd, and Is Cenen.

6. The hundred of Eginog, with its comots of Gwyr, Cydweli, and Carnwyllion.

7. The Bychan (little) hundred, with its comots of Mallaen, Caeo, and Maenor Deivi.

8. The Mawr (great) hundred, with its comots of Cetheiniog, Mab Elvyw (Elved), Mab Uchdryd, and Gwidigada.

BRYCHEINIOG. (Brecknock).

9. The hundred of Selyv, with its comots of Selyv and Trahaiarn

10. The Canol (middle) hundred, with its comots of Talgarth, Ystrad Yw Uchav, and Ystrad Yw Isav (Eglwys Jail).

11. The Mawr (great) hundred, or Lliwel, with its comots of Tir Rawf, Lliwel, and Crug Hywel.

MORGANWG. (Glamorgan).

12. The hundred of Gorwennydd, with its comots of Rhwng Nedd ac Avan, Rhwng Nedd a Thawy, Y Coetty (Tir Jarll), and Glyn Ogwr.

13. The hundred of Penyddden, with its comots of Tal y Van (Yvan), Rhuthyn, Meisgyn, and Glyn Rhoddni.

14. The Breiniol (royal) hundred, with its comots of Cibwr, Seinghenydd, Uwch Caeach, and Is Caeach.

15. The hundred of Gwaenllwg, with its comots of Cwmwd yr Haidd, Cwmwd Canol, Edlygion, Mynydd, and Trev Bervedd.

GWENT. (Monmouthshire).

16. The hundred of Gwent Uwch Coed, with its comots of Mynwy, Iscoed, Llevenydd, and Trev y Grug.

17. The hundred of Iscoed Gwent, with its comots of Bryn Byga, Uwch coed, Teirtrev, Erging, and Euas.

DYVED. (Pembrokeshire).

18. The hundred of Emlyn, with its comots of Uwch Cuch, Is Cuch, and Llefethyr.

19. The hundred of Arberth, with its comots of Penryn ar Elain, Esgyrogev (Esterolev), and Talacharn.

20. The hundred of Daugleddyv, with its comots of Amgoed, Pennant, and Y Velvre.

21. The hundred of the Coed (wood), with its comots of Lanhua-dain and Castell Gwys.

22. The hundred of Penvro (Land's end), with its comots Coed yr Hâv and Maenor Byr.

23. The hundred of Rhôs, with its comots of Hawrfordd, Castell Gwalchmai, and Y Garn.

24. The hundred of Pebidiog, with its comots of Mynyw and Pencaer.

25. The hundred of Cemaes, with its comots Uwch Nyver, Is Nyver, and Trevdraeth.

Thus there were found in the province of Dinevwr, 25 hundreds, and in them 78 comots.

By the foregoing statement, we find that Aberfraw contained fifteen hundreds, and thirty-eight comots; Mathraval fourteen hun-

dreds, and forty comots; and Dinevwr twenty-five hundreds, and seventy-eight comots, making, in the whole, fifty-four cantreds, or hundreds, and thus agreeing with the number stated by Giraldus.

Of the three royal seats here mentioned, Dinevwr alone retains marks of its ancient dignity; its situation and history are described in the *Itinerary*, Vol. I. page 180.

Aberfraw, a small town situated at the conflux of the river Fraw and the sea, on the SW. part of the isle of Anglesey, and twelve miles SE. of Holyhead. It was formerly a considerable place, and noted for having been the residence of eleven princes of North Wales. We cannot at this time discover any vestiges of the royal palace, nor have we any records whereby to judge of its ancient form and position; but it is generally supposed to have been situated in a field adjoining the town, on the spot where a barn now stands, which probably was built out of its ruins; for the stones in some parts of it appear to have been better wrought than is common in such buildings. *Supplement to Rowland's Mona*, p. 41.

In speaking of Aberfraw, Mr. Pennant says, " This princely residence is now reduced to a few poor houses, seated on the river Fraw, near a small bay. Not a vestige is to be seen of its former boast. It was a chief seat of our princes, and one of the three courts of justice for the principality. Here was always kept one of the three copies of the ancient code of laws. This place was of great antiquity, being one of the three fixed upon by Roderic the Great about the year 870, for the residence of his successor. In 962, it was ravaged by the Irish." *Pennant*, Vol. II. p. 228.

Mathraval—The Welsh Chronicle informs us, that upon the

making of Offa's dyke, A. D. 795, " the seate of the Kings of Powys was translated from Pengwern. now called Salop, to Mathraval, where it continued long after." The ancient British name of Shrewsbury was Pengwern, that is, the head of the alder grove; and derived perhaps from its wooded situation:

*Edita Pengwerni latè fastigia splendent,
Urbs sita lunato veluti mediamnis in orbe,
Colle tumet modico, duplici quoque ponte superbit,
Accipiens patriâ sibi linguâ nomen ab alnis.*

History does not record for how many centuries Mathraval was honoured as the residence of the Powysian princes: the Welsh Chronicle says, " that during the reign of King John, A. D. 1112, Prince Llewelyn, coming to Powys, laid siege to the castle, which Robert Vepont had made at Mathraval. But when the king was informed of all this, he levied an armye, and came thither to raise the siege, and caused the castle to be destroyed.'¹

Powys—The ancient boundaries of the principality of Powys have been thus ascertained in the Welsh Chronicle. " Powys, before King Offa's time, reached eastward to the rivers Dee and Severn, with a right line from the end of Broxen hills to Salop, with all the country between Wye and Severn, whereof Brochwel Yscithroc was possessed; but after the making of Offa's dyke, the plain country toward Salop being inhabited by Saxons and Normans, the length of Powys extended from Pulford bridge north-east, to the confines of Cardiganshire in the parish of Lhanguric in the south-

¹ A raised mound of earth, and some indistinct traces of walls, mark the site of this castle on the banks of the river Vyrnwy. .

west ; and the breadth, from the farthest part of Cyveiliog westward to Ellesmere on the east. This principality of Powys was appointed by Roderic the Great for the portion of his son Anarawd, and continued entire until the death of Blethyn ap Convyn ; after whom, although the dominion was diminished by limiting parts in severalty amongst his sons, Meredyth and Cadogan, yet at length it came wholly into the possession of Meredyth ap Blethyn, who had issue two sons, Madoc and Gruffyth, between whom the said dominion was divided ; Madoc had that part of Powys, which from his name was afterwards called Powys Vadoc, or Madog : which seignory was subdivided amongst his three sons ; Gruffyth Maelor had the two Maelors and Mochnant is Rhaiadyr ; Owen ap Madoc had Mechain is Coed ; and Owen Brogynton, though basely begotten, yet, for his valiancy and noble courage, had as part of his father's inheritance, Edeyrnion and Dinmael. The principality of Powys Madog being thus parcelled out into so many small portions, fell into the hands of the Mortimers, Warrens, Fitz-Alans, and other noble families.

The other part of Powys, containing the countries of Arwystli, Cyveiliog, Lhannerch-hudol, Caer-einion, Mochnant uwch Rhaiadyr, Mechain uwch Goed, Mouthwy, Deuthwr, Strat Marchell, and Teir-tref, or the three towns, rightfully descended to Gruffyth ap Meredyth ap Blethyn, who was by King Henry the First created Baron of Powys. He left one son, the celebrated Owen Cyveiliog, who enjoyed his whole inheritance as his father did, and married Gwenlhian, the daughter of Owen Gwynedh Prince of North Wales, by whom he had issue Gwenwynwyn ; after whose name that part of Powys was called Powys Gwenwynwyn.

Powys Castle—This castle is supposed to be the same mentioned in the Welsh Chronicle as being situated near Welsh-pool. “Now when Madoc saw his uncle Cadogan rule the countrie, he hid himself in rough and desert places, and adding one mischiefe upon another, determined also to murther him by one waie or other. Therefore after that Cadogan had brought the countrie to some staie of quietnesse, and saw right and justice ministred therein, having ever an eie and respect to the King, he came to the Trallwng (now called the Poole), and the elders of the countrie with him, and minding to dwell there, began to build a castell. Then Madoc, pretending nothing but mischiefe, hearing this, came suddenlie upon him, and Cadogan, thinking no hurt, was slaine before he could either fight or flee.” Powel, p. 171.

Thus it appears that this castle was begun by Cadogan ap Blethyn about the year 1110, whose intentions of residing there were cruelly frustrated by the bloody-minded Madoc his uncle.

In the year 1194, we find it in the possession of Gwenwynwyn, the son and heir of Owen Cyveiliog, when it was besieged by Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury. “Not long after the Archbishop of Canturburie came with an huge power towards Wales, and laied seige to the castell of Gwenwynwyn at the Poole; but the garrison defended the hold so manfullie, that he lost manie of his men, and could doo no good. Therefore he sent for miners, and set them on worke to undermine the wals; which thing, when the garrison understood, and knowing that their enemies were three to one, they were content to yield up the castell upon condition that they might depart with their armour freelie; which offer the archbishop tooke, sufferinge them to passe quietlie, and fortifieng the

castell againe stronglie to the king's use, and placing therein a garrison for the defense thereof, returned to England. But immediately Gwenwynwyn laid siege to it againe, and shortlie after received it upon the same conditions that his men had given it up, and kept the same to his owne use." Powel, p. 248.

The lordship of this castle descended to Gruffydh, the son of Gwenwynwyn, in whose time it took the name of Castell Coch, or the Red Castle, from the colour of the stones with which it was constructed. In 1233 it was overthrown by Llewelyn ap Iorwerth.

On the death of Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, who left six sons, the eldest named, Owen ap Gruffydh, succeeded to his territory in Powys: he had only one daughter, named Hawys Gadarn, or Hawys the Hardy, against whom her uncles challenged the lands of their brother Owen, and affirmed, that a woman was not capable of inheriting them in that country. Whereupon Hawys made such friends in England, that the matter being opened unto King Edward the Second, the said King bestowed her in marriage upon a servant of his named John Charleton, styled Valectus Domini Regis, who was born A. D. 1268, near Wellington in Shropshire, whom he made Lord Powys in her right. This John Charleton Lord Powys, being aided by the King, took three of his wife's uncles prisoners, and laid them up fast in the King's castle at Harlech: he also obtained a writ from the king to the sheriff of the county of Salop, and to Sir Roger Mortimer, justice of Wales, for the apprehension of another uncle, named Gruffydh Vachan, who with his two sons in law, were still in arms against the said Charleton and his wife Hawys: whereupon Gruffydh

and his brethren submitted themselves to the king's order, touching all matters at variance between them and their neece. Powel, p. 215.

This lordship seems to have continued in the family of Charleton until the death of Edward Lord Powys A. D. 1420, when it was divided into three parts, between his widow Elizabeth and his two daughters Jane and Joyce.

Sir John Grey of Berwick in Northumberland by his marriage with the aforesaid Jane, became possessed of the barony of Powys, and it remained in his family till the latter end of the reign of King Henry VIII. when the title became extinct by the death of Edward Grey, who died without issue. Powel, p. 218.

I find this castle in the possession of Sir Edward Herbert, second son of William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, who died A. D. 1569 (11 Eliz.). Sir Edward Herbert died in the following year, leaving issue four sons, of whom the eldest, William, was made knight of the Bath at the coronation of King James, and afterwards by letters patent was created Lord Powys of Powys in the marches of Wales. He married Eleanor, daughter to Henry Percy, the eighth Earl of Northumberland, and died A. D. 1655, leaving his title and inheritance to his son Percy, during whose life (about the year 1644) Powys castle was taken by Sir Thomas Middleton, and its lord made prisoner. He died A. D. 1666, and was buried at Welshpool, leaving issue William, his only son, who, in consideration of his eminent loyalty to the king, and other his special merits, was by letters patent, bearing date April 26, Carol. II., advanced to the dignity of Earl of Powys. The title and estates still continue in the same noble family, and on the death of the late George Earl of

Powys, the title was conferred on Edward Lord Clive, who married Henrietta Antonia Herbert, sister of the said Earl.

Leland in his Itinerary, Tom. V. fol. 29, gives the following account of this principality :

“ Powis borderithe one way apou North Wales in Merionethshire, as concerninge the limits of Cavelioc (Cyveiliog) lordshipe and is in lengthe by gesse a xx miles. For it is xvi miles betwixt Cairllews (Caersws) and Mahen Cliff (Machunleth), and at the ends of eche of thes places it extendith somewhat from the townes . . .

Low Powis is in lengthe from Buttigton bridge a 2 miles from the Walche Poole (Welsh-pool) toward Shrobbesbiri (Shrewsbury) unto above

In all Hy Powis is not one castle that evidently aperithe by manifest ruins of wauls; and they wer wont to bringe in tymes past, in the old Lord Duddley's dayes, theyr prisoners to Walche-poole; and in Low Powis is but onely the castle of the Walche-poole.”

Urchenfeld (or Erging,) is mentioned by Leland in his Itinerary, Tom. V. p. 9, as a great lordship longging to the Erle of Shrewsbiry, and lieth betwyxt Monemuth and Hereford, abowt a 2 myles from eche of them. On the one side alluitur Vaga fluvio . . .

In the Conqueror's survey it is recorded that the king has in Arcenfelde 100 men *minus* four, who hold 73 carucæ with their men, and pay for custom 41 pints of honey, and 20*s.* in lieu of the sheep which they used to furnish, and 10*s.* smoke money (*pro fumagio*), and no other toll or custom except serving in the king's army if required. If a freeman dies there, the king has his horse and arms; and if a villan, one ox. King Griffin and Blein ravaged

this tract in the Confessor's reign, and therefore the state of it at that time cannot be ascertained.² The men of Archenfeld had many valuable and honourable privileges: a liberty within their circuits to arrest for any sum whatsoever; and to bequeath their lands in the manner they thought fit; the most honourable post was assigned them in the army, for they led the van to battle, and defended the rear in its retreat. Several other particulars respecting this district may be found in the additions to Camden by Mr. Gough, Herefordshire, page 447.

² As the printed copy of Domesday Book may not fall into the hands of all my readers, I shall take this opportunity of laying before them a specimen of this ancient and curious record, in the note respecting Arcenfelde, of which the above is a translation.

“ In Arcenfelde h̄t Rex c. hōēs. iiii min'. qui h̄nt LXXIII car' cū suis hominibz. 7 dant de c̄suetudine xli sextar⁷ mellis. 7 xx solid. p ovibz. quas soleb dare. 7 x solid. p fumagio, nec dant geld' aut aliā c̄suetudīn nisi q̄d pignant in exercitū regis si jussū eis fuerit. Si lib' hō ibi morit⁹ rex h̄t caballū ej' cū armis. De villō cū morit'. h̄t rex i. bovē.

Rex Grifin 7 Blein vastaverū hanc trā T. R. E. 7 ideo nescit' qualis eo tēpore fuerit. Domesday, Tom. I. p. 181

CHAPTER V.

MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS OF WALES.

WALES is divided and distinguished by many noble rivers, deriving their source from two ranges of mountains, the Ellennith, (or Maelienydd,) in South Wales, which the English call Moruge, as being the heads of moors, or bogs; and Eryri, in North Wales, which they call Snowdon, or mountains of snow; the latter of which are said to be of so great an extent, that if all the herds in Wales were collected together, they would supply them with pasture for a considerable time. Upon them are two lakes, one of which has a floating island; and the other contains fish having only one eye, as we have related in our Itinerary.

We must also here remark, that at two places in Scotland, one on the eastern, and the other on the western ocean, the sea-fish called mullets have only the right eye.

The noble river Severn takes its rise from the Ellennith mountains, and flowing by the castles of Shrewsbury and Bridgenorth, through the cities of Worcester and Gloucester, celebrated for its iron manufactories, falls into the sea a few miles from the latter place, and gives its name to the Severn Sea. This river was for many years the boundary between Wales and England; it was called in British Hafren, from a daughter of Locrinus, who was drowned in it by her step-mother; the aspirate being changed, according to the Latin idiom, into S, as is usual in words derived

from the Greek, it was termed *Sabrina*, as *hal* becomes *sal*; *hemi*, *semi*; *hepta*, *septem*.

The river *Wye* rises in the same mountains of *Ellennith*, and flows by the castles of *Hay* and *Clifford*, through the city of *Hereford*, by the castles of *Wilton* and *Goodrich*, through the forest of *Dean*, abounding with deer and iron, and proceeds to *Strighill*^a castle, below which it empties itself into the sea, and forms in modern times the boundary between *England* and *Wales*. The *Usk*^b does not derive its origin from these mountains, but from those of *Cantref Bychan*; it flows by the castle of *Brecheinoc*, or *Aberhodni*, that is, the fall of the river *Hodni* into the *Usk*; (for *Aber*, in the British language, signifies every place where two rivers unite their streams;) by the castles of *Abergevenni* and *Usk*, through the ancient city of the *Legions*, and discharges itself into the *Severn Sea* not far from *Newport*.

The river *Remni*^c flows towards the sea from the mountains of *Brecheinoc*, having passed the castle and bridge of *Remni*. From the same range of mountains springs the *Taf*, which pursues its course to the episcopal see of *Landaff* (to which it gives its name,)

^a *Strighill* is better known by the name of *Chepstow* castle.

^b *Wiske* risith in *Blake Montein*, a x miles above *Brekenoc* toward *Caermadine*, and so rennith thorough the litle forest and great forest of *Brekenok*, and so cummith thorough *Redbrynu* (*Rhyd-y-briw*) bridge, to *Brekenok* to *Aberconureg*, a maner place of the *Aubres*, to *Penkethle*, to *Creghoel*, to *Abregeveni*, to *Uske*, *Caerleon*, *Newport*. *Leland Itin.* Tom. V. p. 73.

The place wher the river of *Wiske* doth springe, as owt of a fontaine or welle, is caullid *Blainwiske*. *Ibid.* p. 76.

^c The hedde of *Remney* river is yn the hilles of *High Wencelande*: thens cumme many springes, and taking one bottom; and thens going into *Diffryn Risca* (the Vale of the river *Risca*,) it is augmentid with *Risca*, a brooke cum-

and falls into the sea below the castle of Caerdif. The river Avon^d rushes impetuously from the mountains of Glamorgan, between the celebrated Cistercian monasteries of Margan and Neth; and the river Neth, descending from the mountains of Brecheinoc, unites itself with the sea at no great distance from the castle of Neth; each of these rivers forming a long tract of dangerous quicksands. From the same mountains of Brecheinoc the river Taw flows down to Abertawe, or Swainsey. The Lochor^e joins the sea near the castle of the same name; and the Wendraeth^f has its confluence near Cydweli. The Tywy,^g another noble river, rises in the Ellen-nith mountains, and separating the Cantref Mawr from the Cantref Bychan, passes by the castle of Lhanymdhyfri, and the royal palace

ming ynto it oute of a paroche caullid Egglins-islan (Eglwysilan,) and then doth it albere the name of Risca: and cumming to Bedwes paroche it is caullid Remny, and by the same name into the Severne Se. Leland Itin. Tom. IV. p. 34.

^d Avon ryver cum of 2 armes, wherof that that lyith north-est is caullid Avon Vawr, and that that lyith north-west is caullid Avon Vehan. They mete together at Lanvihengle, about a 2 miles above Aberauson (Aberavon) village.

From the mouth of Avon to the mouth of Avon ryver is aboute a 2 miles and a half al by low shore, shokid with Severn sandes and sum morisch groundes. Leland Itin. Tom. IV. p. 50.

^e Lochor river partith Kidwelli from West Gower lande. Ibid. Tom. V. p. 23.

^f The course of the Gwendraeth Vawr and Vychan have been given in the Annotations on the ninth chapter of the Itinerary, p. 170.

^g Towe (the Tywy of Giraldus) risith a 1111 myles by south from Llyntyve (the Lake of Tyve) in a morisch ground, and hath no Llyn at his hedd, and by estimation rennith a xxii miles or he cum to Llanamdevery (Llandovery.) He first rennith sumwhat by south, and then a greate way by west, and at last turneth againe toward south. Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 87.

And in another place, the same author, speaking of this river, says, "The hed of Tewe (Towy) ryver cumynge to Cairmarden, is in a forrest wodde caullyd Bysshopp's Forest, about a xxiiii myles from Cairmarden, and the hed of this ryver is almoste in the midle waye betwixt Llandewy streme and Llancanery (Llandovery) castle."

and castle of Dinevor, strongly situated in the deep recesses of its woods, towards Caermardhyn, where Merlin was found, and from whom the city received its name; from thence it runs into the sea near the castle of Lanstephan. The river Tave^h rises in the Presseleu mountains, not far from the monastery of Whitland, and passing by the castle of Saint Clare, falls into the sea near Abercorran and Talacharn. From the same mountains flow the rivers Cledheu, encompassing the province of Daugledheu, and giving it their name; one passes by Lahaden, and the other by Haverford, to the sea, and in the British language bear the name of Daugledheu, or two swords.

The river Teiviⁱ springs from the Ellennith mountains, in the upper part of the Cantref Mawr and Caerdigan, not far from the pastures and celebrated monastery of Stratflur, forming a boundary between Demetia and Caerdigan down to the Irish channel; this is the only river in Wales that produces beavers, an account of which

^h Tava risith in the mountains of Presseleu, not far from Teguin, ar Tave (Ty Gwyn ar Tave, or the white house on the Tave,) by the which it cummith, and so by S. Clares, and not far from Abercorran and Talacharne it goith into the se. I herd ons that it risith in a montaine caullid Wrenne Vawr (Vrenny Vawr) a 1111 myles from Caerdigein (Cardigan). Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 22.

ⁱ There is a Llyn a 1111 miles from Stratflure, caullyd Llin Tyve about in bredthe. Tyve cummithe out of this poole, so to Stratflure Abbay, and there aboute cummithe in Glesrodeburne sumwhat benethe the abbay. Glesrode risethe a 3 miles from Stratflure in the mountaynes in the hy way toward Buelthe. Tyve or ever he cum to Stratflure takethe but a lytle botom, but fletithe and ragith upon stones, as Glesrode dothe. And or Tyve cum to Stratflure, he reseivithe a litle brooke caullyd Llinhiglande. Glesrode some tyme so rageth that he carriethe stones from these placis. Tyve goithe from Stratflure to Tregaron, a village a 1111 miles of on the hither side, and this commithe in anothar brooke caullid Crose, that within a litle goithe into Tyve. Leland Itin. Tom. VII.

is given in our Itinerary; and also exceeds every other river in the abundance and delicacy of its salmon. But as this book may fall into the hands of many persons who will not meet with the other, I have thought it right here to insert many curious and particular qualities relating to the nature of these animals, how they convey their materials from the woods to the river, with what skill they employ these materials in constructing places of safety in the middle of the stream, how artfully they defend themselves against the attack of the hunters on the eastern and western sides; the singularity of their tails, which partake more of the nature of fish than flesh. For further particulars see the Itinerary.^k

From the same mountains issues the Ystwyth,^l and flowing through the upper parts of Penwedic in Cardiganshire, falls into the sea near the castle of Aberystwyth. From the snowy mountains of Eryri flows the noble river Devi,^m dividing for a great distance North and South Wales; and from the same mountains also the large river Maw,ⁿ forming by its course the greater and smaller

^k Our author seems at first to have intended giving a repetition of the history of the beaver in this Description of Wales, being a separate work from the Itinerary; but he afterwards alters his mind, and refers the reader for an account of it to the Itinerary; which may be found in Chapter IV. Book II.

^l Ustwith risith owt of a moorish ground caullid Blaene Ustwith, 111 miles from Llangibike on Wy (Llangurig); it is in Comeustwith (Cwmystwyth) and so rennith good vi miles thorough Comeustwith, and a vi or vii mo' miles to Abreustwith. Leland Itin. Tom. V. p. 87.

^m If by the mountains of Eryri we are to understand the Snowdonian range of hills, our author has not been quite accurate in fixing the source of the river Dovy, which rises between Dinas-y-mowddu and Bala Lake, to the southward of Mount Arran: from whence it pursues its course to Mallwyd, and Machynlleth, below which place it becomes an æstuary, and the boundary between North and South Wales.

ⁿ Our author is again incorrect in stating that the river Maw forms, by its course,

tract of sands called the Traeth Mawr and the Traeth Bychan; the Dissennith also and the Arthro flow through Merionethshire and the land of Conan. The Conwy,^o springing from the northern side of the Eryri mountains, unites its waters with the sea under the noble castle of Deganwy; the Cloyd^p rises from another side of the same mountain, and passes by the castle of Ruthlan to the sea; the Doverdwy, called by the English Dee,^q draws its source from the lake of Penmelesmere, and runs through Chester, leaving the wood of Coleshulle, Basinwerk, and a rich vein of silver in its neighbour-

the two tracts of sands called Traeth Mawr and Traeth Bychan. This river, from which Barmouth derives the name of Aber-maw, and to which Giraldus, in the fifth Chapter of the second Book of his Itinerary, has given the epithet of *bifurcus*, runs far to the southward of either of the Traeths. The Traeth Mawr, or large sands, are formed by the impetuous torrents which descend from Snowdon by Beddgelert, and pass under the Devil's Bridge at Pont aber Glaslyn, so called from the river Glaslyn; and the Traeth Bychan, or little sands, are formed by numerous streams which unite themselves in the Vale of Festiniog, and become an æstuary near the village of Maentwrog.

^o The Conwy derives its principal source from a very large lake, called Llin Conwy, (second in size to that of Bala,) situated on a dreary and boggy moor, and abounding in delicious trout; it pursues its course by Yspytty Evan and Bettws y coed to Llanrwst, forming many precipitous cataracts, and adding fresh charms to the picturesque scenery, which nature, in the disposition of her hills; and art, in the construction of her bridges, have abundantly supplied in this tract of country. A little below Llanrwst it becomes a tide river, and passing under the neglected walls of the Roman *Conovium*, and the once sequestered Cistercian abbey at Maenan, flows tranquilly down to Conwy.

^p The river Clwyd rises at a very considerable distance from the place assigned to it by Giraldus: it flows by Ruthin, and east of Denbigh, to Saint Asaph; from whence, with the united streams of the Elwy, it continues its course to Ruthlan, where it becomes a tide river; giving a name to the rich and fertile Vale of Clwyd.

^q The primary source of the river Dee is in the valley leading from Dolgelle to Bala, from which places it flows through the beautiful Vale of Edeyrnion to Llangollen, Overton, Bangor, and Chester.

hood far to the south ; and by the influx of the sea forming a very dangerous quicksand, thus the Dee makes the northern, and the river Wye the southern boundary of Wales.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING THE PLEASANTNESS AND FERTILITY OF WALES.

As the southern part of Wales near Cardiganshire, but particularly Pembrokeshire, is pleasanter, on account of its plains and sea coast ; so North Wales is better defended by nature, is more productive of men distinguished for bodily strength, and more fertile in the nature of its soil ; for, as the mountains of Eryri (Snowdon) could supply pasturage for all the herds of cattle in Wales, if collected together, so could the Isle of Mona (Anglesey) provide a requisite quantity of corn for all the inhabitants : on which account there is an old British proverb, “ *Mon mam Cymbry*,” that is, “ Mona is the mother of Wales.” Merionyth, and the land of Conan, is the rudest and least cultivated region. The natives of that part of Wales excel in the use of long lances, as those of Monmouthshire are distinguished for their management of the bow. It is to be observed, that the British language is more delicate and richer in North Wales, that country being less intermixed with foreigners : many however assert that the language of Cardiganshire in South Wales, placed as it were in the middle and heart of Cambria, is the most refined.

The people of Cornwall and the Armoricans speak a language similar to that of the Britons ; and from its origin and near resemblance, is intelligible to the Welsh in many instances, and almost in all ;^a and although less delicate and methodical, yet it approaches more to the ancient British idiom. As in the southern parts of England, and particularly in Devonshire, the English language seems less agreeable ; yet it bears more marks of antiquity (the northern parts being much corrupted by the irruptions of the Danes and Norwegians), and adheres more strictly to the original language and ancient mode of speaking ; a positive proof of which may be deduced from all the English works of Bede, Rabanus,^b and King Alfred, being written according to this idiom.

^a The French historian Lobineau, deriving the language both of the Armorican as well as the Insular Britons (meaning England and Wales) from the Celts, whom we know from history sent colonies both into England and Gaul, says, “ *cette langue commune aux Celtes et aux Bretons Insulaires est la même qui se parle encore aujourd’ hui dans la Basse Bretagne, et qui fait que les Bas Bretons n’ont pas besoin d’interprete pour entendre ceux du pais de Galles.* *Histoire de la Bretagne, Tom. I. p. 3.*

^b Rabanus, cognomento Magnentius Maurry, natione Scotus, Alcuini Angli theologi præclarissimi quondam auditor, discipulusque conjunctissimus, omni sub eo in Angliâ bonarum literarum genere, Eboraci atque alibi mirabiliter profecit. Vitâ excessit A. D. 856, et ex abundanti ingenio, tam carmine quam solutâ oratione, monumenta quamplurima reliquit. *Bale Script. Brit. Cent. XIV. p. 206.*

CHAPTER VII.

ORIGIN OF CAMBRIA AND WALES.

CAMBRIA was so called from Camber son of Brutus ; for Brutus descending from the Trojans, by his grandfather Ascanius, and father Silvius, led the remnant of the Trojans, who had long been detained in Greece, into this western isle ; and having reigned many years, and given his name to the country and people, at his death divided the kingdom of Wales between his three sons.

To his eldest son Locrinus, he gave that part of the island which lies between the rivers Humber and Severn, and which from him was called Loegria.

To his second son Albanactus, he gave the lands beyond the Humber, which took from him the name of Albania.

But to his youngest son Camber, he bequeathed all that region which lies beyond the Severn, and is called after him Cambria : hence the country is properly and truly called Cambria, and its inhabitants, Cambrians, or Cambrenses : some assert that their name was derived from *Cam* and *Græco*, that is, distorted Greek, on account of the affinity of their languages contracted by their long residence in Greece : but this conjecture, though probable, is not well founded on truth.

The name of Wales was not derived from Wallon a general, or Wandolena a queen, as the fabulous history of Geoffrey Arthur

falsely maintains, because neither of these personages are to be found amongst the Welsh ; but it arose from a barbarous appellation. The Saxons when they seized upon Britain, called this nation, as they did all foreigners, Wallons : and thus the barbarous name remains to the people and their country.

Having discoursed upon the quality, and quantity of the land, the genealogies of the princes, the sources of the rivers, and the derivation of the names of this country, we shall now consider the nature and character of the nation.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING THE NATURE, MANNERS, AND DRESS. THE BOLDNESS,
AGILITY, AND COURAGE OF THIS NATION.

THIS nation is light and active, hardy rather than strong, and generally bred up to the use of arms ; for not only the nobles, but all the people are trained to war, and when the trumpet sounds the alarm, the husbandman rushes as eagerly from his plough as the courtier from his court ; for here it is not found that, as in other places,

“ *Agricolis labor actus in orbem,*”

returns ; for in the months of March and April only the soil is ploughed for oats, and twice in the summer, and once in winter

for wheat. Almost all the people live upon the produce of their herds, with oats, milk, cheese, and butter; eating flesh in larger proportions than bread: they pay no attention to commerce, shipping, or manufactures, and suffer no interruption but by martial exercises: they anxiously study the defence of their country and their liberty: for these they fight, for these they undergo hardships, and for these willingly sacrifice their lives: they esteem it a disgrace to die in bed, an honour to die in the field of battle, using the poet's expression,

“ Procul hinc avertite pacem
Nobilitas cum pace perit.”

Nobility perishes in time of peace; nor is it wonderful if it degenerates, for the ancestors of these men, the Æneadæ, rushed to arms in the cause of liberty. It is remarkable that this people though unarmed, dares attack an armed foe; the infantry defy the cavalry, and by their activity and courage generally prove victors; they resemble in disposition and situation those conquerors whom the poet Lucan mentions:

— — — — “ Populi quos despicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget leti metus, inde ruendi
In ferrum, mens prona viris, animæque capaces,
Mortis et ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.”

They make use of light arms, which do not impede their agility; small breast-plates, bundles of arrows, and long lances, helmets and shields, and very rarely greaves plated with iron: the higher class go to battle mounted on swift and generous steeds which their

country produces: but the greater part of the people fight on foot to a disadvantage, on account of the marshy nature of the soil. The horsemen, as their situation or occasion require, willingly serve as infantry in attacking or retreating; and they either walk bare-footed, or make use of high shoes, roughly constructed with untanned leather. In time of peace the young men by penetrating the deep recesses of the woods, and climbing the tops of mountains, learn by nightly practice to endure the fatigue by day; and as they meditate on war during peace, they acquire the art of fighting by accustoming themselves to the use of the lance, and by inuring themselves to hard exercise.

King Henry the Second, on answering the enquiries of Emanuel Emperor of Constantinople, concerning the situation, nature, and striking peculiarities of the British island, among other remarkable circumstances mentioned the following: That in a certain part of the island there was a people, called Welsh, so bold and so ferocious, that when unarmed they did not fear to encounter an armed force; being ready to shed their blood in defence of their country, and to sacrifice their lives for renown; which is the more surprising, as the beasts of the field, over the whole face of the island became gentle, but these desperate men could not be tamed. The wild animals, and particularly the stags and hinds, are so abundant, owing to the little molestation they receive, that in the northern parts of the island towards the Peak;^a when pursued by the hounds and hunters, they contributed, by their numbers, to their own destruction."

^a A place so called in Derbyshire. This is written *Pech* in the Latin editions, but on referring to the MS. in the British Museum, I found it spelt *Peake*.

CHAPTER IX.

THEIR SOBER SUPPER AND FRUGALITY.

Not addicted to gluttony nor drunkenness, this people, who incur no expense in food or dress, and whose minds are always bent upon the defence of their country, and on the means of plunder, are wholly employed in the care of their horses and furniture. Accustomed to fast from morning till evening, and trusting to the care of Providence, they dedicate the whole day to business, and in the evening partake of a moderate meal; and even if they have none, or only a very scanty one, they patiently wait till the next evening; and neither deterred by cold nor hunger, they employ the dark and stormy nights in watching the hostile motions of their enemies.

CHAPTER X.

THEIR HOSPITALITY AND LIBERALITY.

No one of this nation ever begs, for the houses of all are common to all; and they consider liberality and hospitality amongst the first virtues: so much does hospitality here rejoice in communication, that it is neither offered, nor requested by travellers, who, on entering any house, only deliver up their arms: when water is offered to them, if they suffer their feet to be washed, they are received as guests; for the offer of water to wash the feet is with this nation an hospitable invitation. But if they refuse the proffered service, they only wish for morning refreshment, and not lodging. The young men move about in troops and families under the direction of a chosen leader; attached only to arms and ease, and ever ready to stand forth in defence of their country, they have free admittance into every house as if it were their own.

Those who arrive in the morning are entertained till evening by the conversation of young women, and the music of the harp; for each house has its young women and harps allotted to this purpose. Two circumstances here deserve notice: that as no nation labours more under the vice of jealousy than the Irish, so none is more free from it than the Welsh; and in each family the art of playing on the harp is held preferable to any other learning. In the evening, when no more guests are expected, the meal is prepared according

to the number and dignity of the persons assembled, and according to the wealth of the family who entertains; the kitchen does not supply many dishes, nor high seasoned incitements to eating; the house is not adorned with tables, cloths, and napkins; they study nature more than splendour; for which reason they place all the dishes together upon mats, with large platters or trenchers full of sweet herbs; they also make use of a thin and broad cake of bread, baked every day, which in old writings was called *Lagana*; ^a and they sometimes add chopped meat with broth. Such tables were formerly used by the noble youth, from whom this nation boasts its descent, and whose manners it still imitates, according to the words of the Poet:

“ Heu ! mensas consumimus, inquit Iulus.”

While the family is engaged in waiting on the guests, the host and hostess stand up, paying unremitting attention to every thing, and take no food till all the company are satisfied; that in case of any deficiency, it may fall upon them. A bed made of rushes, and covered with a coarse kind of cloth manufactured in the country, called *Brychan*, ^b is then placed along the side of the room, and they

^a Bread, called *Lagana*, was I suppose, the sort of household bread or thin cake baked on an iron plate, called a griddle (*gradell*), still common in Caermarthenshire, and called *Bara Llech* and *Bara Llechan*, or griddle bread, from being so baked. Owen.

Laganum, a fritter or pancake, *Baranyiod*. Lhuyd Archæology, p. 75.

^b *Brychan*, in Lhuyd's Archæology and Cornish grammar, is spelt Bryccan and interpreted a blanket. In Bullet's Celtic dictionary I also find this word *Brychan* thus explained, and corresponding with the sense in which Giraldus has used it, viz. “Natte de jonc où de paille, ce sur quoi l'on se couche; drap rude sur lequel couchent les Gallois, couverture de lit,” &c. &c.

all in common lie down to sleep; nor is their dress at night different from that by day, for at all seasons they defend themselves from the cold only by a thin cloak and waistcoat; the fire continues to burn by night as well as by day, at their feet, and they receive much comfort from the natural heat of the persons lying near them: but when the under side begins to be tired with the hardness of the bed, or the upper one to suffer from cold, they immediately leap up, and go to the fire, which soon relieves them from both inconveniences; and then returning to their couch, expose alternately their sides to the cold, and to the hard bed.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCERNING THE CUTTING OF THEIR HAIR, THE CARE OF THEIR TEETH, AND SHAVING OF THEIR BEARD.

THE men and women cut their hair close round to the ears and eyes. The women, after the manner of the Parthians, cover their heads with a large white veil, folded together in the form of a crown.

Both sexes exceed any other nation in attention to their teeth, which they render like ivory, by constantly rubbing them with green hazle and a woollen cloth: for their better preservation, they abstain from hot meats, and eat only such as are cold, warm, or

temperate. The men shave all their beard except the whiskers. This custom is not recent, but was observed in ancient and remote ages, as we find in the works of Julius Cæsar, who says,¹ “ The Britons shave every part of their body except their head and upper lip;” and to render themselves more active, and avoid the fate of Absalon in their excursions through the woods, they are accustomed to cut even the hair from their heads : so that this nation more than any other shaves off all pilosity. He also adds, that the Britons, previous to an engagement, anointed their faces with a nitrous ointment, which gave them so ghastly and shining an appearance, that the enemy could scarcely bear to look at them, particularly if the rays of the sun were reflected on them.

¹ “ Omnes verò se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horridiore sunt in pugnâ adspectu; capilloque sunt promisso, atque omni parte corporis rasâ, præter caput et labrum superius.” Cæsar de Bello Gallico, cap. 13, 14.

CHAPTER XII.

THEIR QUICKNESS AND SHARPNESS OF UNDERSTANDING.

THESE people being of a sharp and acute intellect, and gifted with a rich and powerful understanding, excel in whatever studies they pursue, and are more quick and cunning than the other inhabitants of a western climate.

Their musical instruments charm and delight the ear with their sweetness, are borne along by such celerity and delicacy of modulation, producing such a consonance from the rapidity of seemingly discordant touches, that I shall briefly repeat what is set forth in our Irish Topography on the subject of the musical instruments of the three nations. It is astonishing that in so complex and rapid a movement of the fingers, the musical proportions can be preserved, and that throughout the difficult modulations on their various instruments, the harmony is completed with such a sweet velocity, so unequal an equality, so discordant a concord, as if the chords sounded together fourths or fifths. They always begin from B flat, and return to the same, that the whole may be completed under the sweetness of a pleasing sound. They enter into a movement, and conclude it in so delicate a manner, and play the little notes so sportively under the blunter sounds of the base strings, enlivening with wanton levity, or communicating a deeper

internal sensation of pleasure, so that the perfection of their art appears in the concealment of it :

“ Si lateat, prosit :

————— ferat ars deprensa pudorem.”

“ Art profits when concealed,

Disgraces when revealed.”

From this cause, those very strains which afford deep and unspeakable mental delight to those who have skilfully penetrated into the mysteries of the art, fatigue rather than gratify the ears of others, who seeing, do not perceive, and hearing, do not understand ; and by whom the finest music is esteemed no better than a confused and disorderly noise, and will be heard with unwillingness and disgust.¹

They make use of three instruments, the harp, the pipe, and the *crwth*, or crowd.²

¹ I have adopted Mr. Jones's translation of this passage, the Latin text of which, to one not skilled in music, appears very unintelligible.

² This instrument is generally supposed to have been the origin of the violin, which was not commonly known in England till the reign of Charles the First. Before this time the *crwth* was not probably confined to the Principality, from the name of *Crowdero* in *Hudibras* ; as also from a fiddler being still called a *crowder* in some parts of England, though he now plays on a violin instead of a *crwth*. With the above account, (printed in the *Archæology*, Vol. III. from a paper of Mr. Daines Barrington,) there is a drawing of this musical instrument ; and an assertion, that at the time this account was transmitted to the Society, A. D. 1770, the instrument was on the point of being entirely lost, as there was but one person in the whole principality who could play upon it. A very minute description of the *crwth*, by Gruffydd ab David ab Howel, and many other particulars respecting it, have been collected by Mr. Jones, in his *Dissertation on the Musical Instruments of the Welsh*, page 114, edition 1794.

They omit no part of natural rhetoric in the management of civil actions, in quickness of invention, disposition, refutation, and confirmation. In their rhymed songs and set speeches they are so subtle and ingenious, that they produce, in their native tongue, ornaments of wonderful and exquisite invention both in the words and sentences ;³ hence arise those poets whom they call Bards, of whom you will find many in this nation, endowed with the above faculty, according to the poet's observation :

“ Plurima concreti fuderunt carmina Bardi.”

But they make use of alliteration in preference to all other ornaments of rhetoric, and that particular kind which joins by consonancy the first letters or syllables of words. So much do the English and Welsh nations employ this ornament of words in all exquisite composition, that no sentence is esteemed to be elegantly spoken, no oration to be otherwise than uncouth and unrefined, unless it is polished by the file of this rule. Thus in the British tongue :

“ Digawn Duw da i unig.

Wrth bob crybwyll rhaïd pwyll parawdd.”⁴

³ This passage having occasioned some doubt amongst the learned, respecting the use of rhyme, in bardic times, I have adopted the translation of Mr. Turner, who in his learned *Vindication of the ancient British Poems*, page 261, treats on this subject, and remarks, “ that the words of Giraldus ‘ *Cantilenis rhythmicis*,’ in the twelfth century, undoubtedly meant *rimed songs*. To omit the word *rhythmicis* entirely in the translation, and to substitute for it the word *verses*, and to produce the passage thus wrongly translated as an authority that Giraldus does not even mention the use of rhyme amongst his countrymen, would be both unjust and improper. The words *cantilenis rhythmicis* in a MS. of the Cotton library have not, as in the printed copy of Giraldus, a comma between them.

⁴ These Welsh lines quoted by Giraldus are selected from two different stanzas

And in English, "God is together gammen and wisdom." The same ornament of speech is also frequent in the Latin language. Virgil says,

"Tales casus Cassandra canebat."

And again, in his address to Augustus,

"Dum dubitet natura marem, faceretve puellam,
Natus es, o pulcher, pene puella, puer."

This ornament occurs not in any language we know so frequently

of moral verses, called Eglynion y Clywed, the composition of some anonymous bard; or probably the work of several:

"A glyweisti a gant Dywyneg,
Milwr doeth detholedig:
Digawn Duw da i unig?

"Hast thou heard what was sung by Dywynic?
A wise and chosen warrior:
God will effect solace to the orphan.

"A glyweisti a gant Anarawd?
Milwr doniawg did lawd
Rhaid wrth anmhwyll pwyll parawd.

"Hast thou heard what was sung by Anarawd?
A warrior endowed with many gifts?
With want of sense ready wit is necessary."

Or, as Giraldus quotes it,

"Wrth bob crybwl rhaid pwyll parawd."

"With every hint ready wit is necessary."

Myvyrian Archaiology, page 172.

as in the two first : it is surprising that the French, in other respects so ornamented, should be entirely ignorant of this verbal elegance so much adopted in other languages. Nor can I believe that the English and Welsh, so different and adverse to each other, could designedly have agreed in the usage of this figure ; but I should rather suppose that it had grown habitual to both by long custom, as it pleases the ear by a transition from similar to similar sounds. Cicero, in his book “ On Elocution,” observes of such who know the practice, not the art, “ Other persons when they read good orations or poems, approve of the orators or poets, not understanding the reason why, being affected, they approve ; because they cannot know in what place, of what nature, nor how that effect is caused which so highly delights them.”

ANNOTATIONS ON CHAPTER XII.

THE Bards or reciters of songs made so very conspicuous a figure in the history of this country, that some account of their institution and proceedings will not, I hope, be deemed uninteresting ; for we must not consider their songs as mere poetical compositions, but as the primary sources of much historical and authentic information. Neither were they compiled hastily from fabulous records and vague traditions ; but were composed after recent

exploits, and immediately copied and dispersed amongst those who had either been actors or eye-witnesses to the deeds they commemorated.^a

The Bardi were held in high estimation in Germany, and particularly amongst the nation of the Belgæ. “Sunt illis hæc quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem Barditum vocant, accendunt animos, futuræque pugnæ fortunam ipso cantu augurantur.”^b Apud omnes tres passim nationes eximio in honore sunt Bardi, Vates, Druidæ. Bardi quidem laudationibus rebusque poeticis student.”^c

By their songs they animated the troops to battle, and recorded the names and heroic deeds of those who fell in the field of glory. The poet Lucan thus addresses them :

“ Vos quoque qui fortes animas belloque peremtas,
Laudibus in longum vates dimittis in ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardî.”^d

^a Jones's Welsh Bards, p. 26.

^b Tacitus de Germania, Tom. IV. p. 9.

^c Strabo, p. 133. This note is valuable because it describes the three sorts of Bards in an order deserving our consideration, viz. Bardd, Ovydd, and Derwydd, or the Bard proper, the Ovydd or scientific Bard, and the Derwydd, or Priest Bard; our arrangement in the institutes is, Bardd, Derwydd, and Ovydd; thus placing the scientific Bard the last. A little before the time of Cadwalader there was a schism amongst the Bards, owing to innovations, which crept in with the Christian religion; and those who favoured such innovations were called Beirdd Beli, or Bards of Beli. Beli was the grandson of Maelgwn Gwynedd King of Britain, who probably encouraged this new sect in the Order. But history is not very clear on this point; and therefore it has been supposed that Beirdd Beli ought to be interpreted Bards of warfare; for Beli, in a literal sense, means warfare; and no Bards ever interfered in war, or bore arms, except those who countenanced this new system.

^d Lucani Pharsalia, lib. 1.

“ You too, ye Bards, whom sacred rapture fire,
 To chaunt your heroes to your country’s lyre,
 Who consecrate in your immortal strain,
 Brave patriot souls in righteous battle slain;
 Securely now the tuneful task renew,
 And noblest themes in deathless songs pursue.”

The earliest mention I can find made of the Bards in Wales, is in the reign of the British King Cadwalader, who died at Rome A. D. 688; and of whom the following anecdote is recorded.^e This king presided at an Eisteddvod,^f or meeting assembled for the purpose of regulating the Bardic institution; when a minstrel appeared, and played upon his harp before this illustrious assembly in so displeasing and unharmonious a key, that he was ordered, under severe penalties, whenever he again performed before persons skilled in the art, to adopt that of Mwynen Gwynedd, or the pleasing melody of North Wales.

During the reign of the great Welsh legislator Howel Dha, A. D. 940, we find that the Bards were held in high estimation, and enjoyed great and peculiar privileges. Y Bardd Teulu, or the *Musicus Aulicus*, (corresponding with our Poet Laureat) received on his appointment, from the king, a harp, and a gold ring from the queen; which harp he was to part with on no consideration whatever.^g

^e This anecdote is related in Dr. John David Rhys’s Grammar, and inserted by Jones in his History of the Welsh Bards, p. 26.

^f The Eisteddvod was a triennial assembly of the Bards, usually held at the three royal seats of the Welsh princes, viz. Aberfraw, Dinevwr, and Mathraval.

^g Citharam a Rege et annulum aureum a Regina accipiet, quando munus

He held his land free, and at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, he sat at the prince's table. If the bard desired any favour of the king, he was obliged to play one of his own compositions; if of a nobleman, three; and if of a plebeian, he was under the obligation of playing till he went to bed, or was tired with his music.^b His person was held so sacred, that whoever slightly injured the Bard, was fined vi cows, and cxx pence; and the murderer of a Bard was fined cxxvi cows. He preceded the army, when prepared for battle, reciting an ancient song called Unbenaeth Prydain, or the Monarchal song of Britain, and for this service received his share of the enemy's spoils.ⁱ

About the year 1070, Bleddyn ab Cynvyn Prince of Powys (the author of another code of Welsh laws) established some regulations respecting the Bards, revising and enforcing those which were already made.

After the death of Trahaearn ab Caradoc in 1079, Gruffydd ab Cynan^k succeeded to the principality of North Wales. During his

suum illi traditur. Hanc Citharam nec pretio nec gratuito quamdiù vixerit ulli dabit.

^b Si Musicus aulicus aliquid à Rege petiverit, canat unum canticum: si a viro nobili, canat tria cantica: si petiverit aliquid à plebeio, canat usquedum cubitum iverit, vel ad lassitudinem.

ⁱ Et si acies sit instructa ad prælium, præcinat illis canticum vocatum Monarchia Britannica.

Musicus aulicus de omni prædâ quam domestici regii demum ducent, juvenum habebit, et præter eum accipiet partem unam æquè ac quilibet alius e domesticis. Et in diè prælii coram illis Monarchiam Britannicam decantabit. *Leges Wallicæ*, p. 37.

In this instance we see the conformity with the customs that prevailed amongst the Germans, as before cited.

^k I believe that the regulation made by Gruffydd ab Cynan related to the musicians

long and glorious reign of fifty-six years, he reformed the disordered behaviour of the Welsh minstrells, by a very good statute, which is extant to this day. The annotator on the Welsh Chronicle records the following particulars respecting the Bards. Powel, p. 191.

There are three sorts of minstrels in Wales.

The first sort named *Beirdh*, which are makers of song, and odes of sundrie measures, wherein not onelie great skill and cunning is required, but also a certeine naturall inclination and gift, which in Latine is termed *Furor poeticus*. These do also keepe records of gentlemens armes and petegrees, and are best esteemed and accounted of among them.

The second sort of them are plaiers upon instruments, chieflie the harpe and the crowth, whose musike for the most part came to Wales with the said Gruffyth ap Conan, who being on the one side an Irishman by his mother, and grandmother, and also borne in Ireland, brought over with him out of that countrie divers cunning musicians into Wales, who derived in a manner all the instrumentall musike that is now there used, as appeereth as well by the bookes written of the same, as also by the names of the tunes and measures used amongst them to this daie.

The third sort called *Arcaneaid*¹ are those which do sing to the instrument plaied by another, and these be in use in the countrie of Wales to this daie.

alone: and in this respect the science, as it was known in Wales and Ireland, was revived from the united knowledge and talents of both nations.

¹ Probably this is a corruption of the Welsh word *Archeinaid* or *accentors*: but the common term for this class is *Datceiniaid*, which literally implies *Reciters*; and probably the author meant this appellation.

This statute or decree before mentioned doth not onelie prescribe and appoint what reward everie of the said minstrels ought to have, and at whose hands; but also of what honest behaviour and conversation they ought to be, to wit, no make-bates, no vagabonds, no ale-house hunters, no drunkards, no brallers, no whore-hunters, no theeves, nor companions of such. In which things if they offend, everie man by the said statute is made an officer, and authorized to arrest and punish them, yea and take from them all that they have about them. They are also in the same statute forbidden to enter into anie mans house, or to make anie song of anie man without speciall licence of the partie himselfe. And this statute or decree hath beene oftentimes allowed by publike authoritie of the cheefe magistrats of that countrie, as appeareth by sundrie commissions directed to divers gentlemen in that behalfe.

The character of King Edward the First has been blackened by the imputation of the greatest cruelty towards the Bards; for after the final subjugation of Wales, he is said to have issued an edict for their extermination, on the false plea of exciting their countrymen to sedition, by the recital of the heroic deeds performed by their ancestors. This idea has been generally adopted both by poets^m and historians; but perhaps without good foundation.ⁿ

^m See Mr. Gray's fine ode entitled the Bard.

ⁿ These assertions respecting the cruelty of King Edward towards the Welsh bards have not any good foundation, which I shall prove by the following fact: "That from the time of Edward to the end of the reign of Elizabeth, the productions of the bards were so numerous, that Mr. Owen Jones, in forming a collection for that period,

The historian Carte says “ that the only set of men who had reason to complain of Edward’s severity, were the Bards, who used to put those remains of the ancient Britons in mind of the valiant deeds of their ancestors. *He ordered them all to be hanged*, as inciters of the people to sedition. Politics in this point got the better of the king’s natural lenity, and those who were afterwards entrusted with the government of the country, following his example ; the profession, becoming dangerous, gradually declined, and in a little time, that sort of men was utterly destroyed.”

Sir John Wynne in his history of the Gwedir family, following the same opinion, says, “ Edward the First, who caused our *Bards all to be hanged* by martial law, as stirrers of the people to sedition, whose example being followed by the governors of Wales, until Henry the Fourth his time, was the utter destruction of that sort of men. Sithence this kind of people were at some further libertie to sing and keep pedegrees as in ancient time they were wont ; since which we have some light of antiquitie by their songes and writings. From the reigne of Edward the First to Henry IV. there is therefore noe certainty, or very little, of things done ; other than what is to be found in the Prince’s records, which now, by tossinge

has already transcribed between fifty and sixty volumes in quarto ; and the work is not yet completed.

“ The edict of Edward seems to have been issued only to overawe the bards ; for it does not appear to have been ever put into execution, otherwise those who lived at the time, and in the following ages, would have noticed such an instance in some way or other. The fact, however, of the bards assuming fictitious names, under which they issued their literary productions, shews that they were under some apprehension ; and which might probably have been produced by the said edict or proclamation.”

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the same from the Exchequer at Caernarvon to the Tower, and to the offices in the Exchequer at London, as alsoe by ill keeping and ordering of late dayes, are become a chaos of confusion with a total neglect of method and order as would be needful for him who would be ascertained of the truth of things done from time to time."

Mr. Pennant, in his Tour through North Wales, informs us, that in 15th Henry VIII. an Eisteddfod was held at Caerwys, Flintshire, in which the ancient laws respecting the Bards were confirmed. And he further adds, that A. D. 1568, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a royal commission was issued for holding an Eisteddfod at the same place; on which occasion several Bards received their degrees. This commission is the last of the kind which has been granted, and is still in the possession of the Mostyn family, together with the silver harp, which, from time immemorial, had been in their gift to bestow on the chief of the faculty. This badge of honour is about five or six inches long, and furnished with strings equal to the number of the Muses. See Pennant, Vol. I. p. 463; where a copy of the commission, and an engraving of the harp are given.

Such is the information which I have been able to collect from written authorities respecting this celebrated Order of men in Wales. The following notes, drawn up by Mr. William Owen at my request, will enable me to enter more fully, and, I trust, satisfactorily, into this subject.

BARDS.—What we find to have been most prominent in the religion, laws, and manners of the patriarchal ages, and in that part of the world which has been generally deemed the cradle of

the human race; namely, the western regions of Asia, prevailed likewise among the distant colonies of Britain.

Were we inconsiderately to pronounce the early inhabitants of this island to have been in a savage state, according to the common acceptation of the term, it would be contrary to the tenor of a multitude of historical facts. But this is the character generally drawn of the Druids, and of the religion they practised among the Cymry. Such a picture is so contrary to the evidence we are enabled to collect from the monuments which they have left behind them, and even to the few notices taken of them by the Greek and Roman writers, that I think it useless to enter into a detail of things so much misrepresented. The common observation that the whole people were overawed by the terror of priestcraft, is foolish; for every nation is governed by the influence of its religion: and we have no evidence of any particular abuse of this power amongst the ancient Britons.

In considering their state of religion and society, the first object that arrests the attention is the system of the Bards; the principles of which are clearly identified among the first patriarchs of mankind, and were extended to the farthest regions of India, in common with the western borders of Europe; and the agreement of systems in these two extreme regions is astonishing, as might be illustrated by numerous facts; such as the exact identity of character of the Indian Menw, and the Menw of the British Triads and romantic tales.

One of the most striking peculiarities of the bardic system was the invention of an *oral record*; more certain than the art of writing itself, especially as it existed in its infancy, or perhaps at

any other period before the discovery of printing. For the Bards required that every branch of knowledge embraced by them should be committed to memory; and this their disciples were obliged to do before they could be fully initiated into the Order; and with a view of rendering them perfect therein, nothing that appertained to the institution, was allowed to be committed to writing. What they thus taught was reduced into a peculiar kind of aphorisms, called *Triades*, from their comprehending three different articles classed together according to the characteristic analogy subsisting between them; and these *Triades* embraced the leading points of theology, morality, science, and history.*

* *Institutional Triades.* The three primary privileges of the Bards of the island of Britain are, maintenance wherever they go; that no naked weapon be borne in their presence; and their testimony preferred to that of all others.

2. The three ultimate intentions of Bardism: to reform morals and customs; to secure peace; and to celebrate the praises of all that is good and excellent.

3. Three things are forbidden to a Bard; immorality, to satirize, and to bear arms.

4. The three joys of the Bards of the island of Britain: the increase of knowledge; the reformation of manners; and the triumphs of peace over the lawless and predatory.

5. Without three qualifications no one can be a Bard: a poetical genius; the knowledge of the Bardic institutes; and irreproachable morals.

6. There are three avoidant injunctions on the Bard: to avoid sloth, as being the man of diligence and exertion; to avoid contention, as being the man of peace; and to avoid folly, as being the man of reason.

Theological Triades—1. There are three primeval unities, and more than one of each cannot exist: one God; one truth; and one point of liberty where all opposites equiponderate.

2. Three things proceed from the three primeval unities: all of life; all that is good; and all power.

3. God consists necessarily of three things: the greatest of life; the greatest of knowledge; and the greatest of power; and of what is the greatest there can be no more than one of any thing.

Solemn meetings were held at certain seasons of the year, such as at the new and full moon, but more particularly at the solstices and equinoxes the four principal meetings of the year took place, for the promulgation of the maxims of the Bardic religion, and for other purposes. But there were other superior triennial meetings, which were great national assemblies, wherein were ratified such things as were proposed for their oral record.

These conventions of every description took place within circles of unhewn stones, in the most public and convenient situations, such as in the open plains in the county of Wilts, whereon the principal stone circle of the whole island was raised, and of which Avebury and Sillbury-hill present, at this day, to our observation some of its vast and wonderful remains.

The institution consisted of three Orders: the Bards proper, the Druids, and the Ovates; and to each of these were attached peculiar pursuits and functions.

The Order called the Bardic was the predominant class, or that

Ethical Triades—1. The three primary principles of wisdom: wisdom to the laws of God; concern for the welfare of mankind; and suffering with fortitude all the accidents of life.

2. There are three ways of searching the heart of man: in the thing he is not aware of; in the manner he is not aware of; and at the time he is not aware of.

3. There are three men that all ought to look upon with affection: he, that with affection looks at the face of the earth; that is delighted with rational works of art; and that looks lovingly on little infants.

Poetic Triades—1. The three primary requisites of poetical genius: an eye that can see nature; a heart that can feel nature; and a resolution that dares follow nature.

2. The three final intentions of poetry: accumulation of goodness; enlargement of the understanding; and what increases delight.

3. The three properties of just imagination: what is possible; what ought to be; and what is decorous.

into which all the disciples were initiated in the first instance ; it was, in short, the privileged national college of the Britons, for on being admitted into it, the members assumed one or the other of the three classes, as their inclination or interest directed them. To this primary Order appertained the perpetuation of the privileges and customs of the system, and also of the civil and moral institutes and learning. If a Bard assumed the character of a Druid, he had to perform the functions of the priesthood ; and as there was a priest or Druid in every community, and the greatest influence was attached to him, this was the class into which the greatest number of the Bards were necessarily entered. Therefore, owing to the power belonging to this character, the Bards appeared more conspicuous to strangers in the Druidical character, than when they officiated in the others ; so that the accounts we find in ancient writers, who describe them, are often contradictory, but generally the names of the other Orders are lost in that of the Druids.

The *Ovates* were such of the Bards as cultivated particular arts or sciences : therefore it was the Order to which belonged artists and mechanics of every description. And this was the only character in which the Bards were permitted to hold private meetings ; in performing the functions of the other classes, they were obliged to assemble, as they expressed it, in the eye of light, and in the face of the sun. I have not the least doubt, from the information I have obtained, but that this class of craftsmen was the origin of Free Masonry ; for in times of persecution, the Bards found it too dangerous to hold public meetings : they therefore assumed the *ovate* character, which permitted them to meet under cover ; and indeed many of the very terms, arrangements, and principles of

Masonry are to be found in Bardism. So that Masonry is Bardism in disguise; being so involved in technical terms that it requires great application in those who are initiated, to see through the mysterious covering. The Bards too have a secret like the Masons, by which they can know one another. The three letters O. I. W., are with them the unutterable name of the Deity: they therefore make use of another term known only to themselves, just as the Jews, who always make use of *Adonai* when the name of Jehovah occurs. Each of the letters in the Bardic name is also a name of itself: the first is the word when uttered, that the world burst into existence; the second is the word, the sound of which continues, by which all things remain in existence; and the third is that by which the consummation of all things will be in happiness, or the state of renovated intellect, for ever approaching to the immediate presence of the Deity.

Each of these three Orders wore an appropriate dress. That of the primary Order, or the Bards in general, was of sky-blue, emblematic of light, or truth, and of peace. White, as a mark of purity and holiness, was appropriated to the Druids. The *Ovates* wore green, thus denominating that the earth was the object of their pursuits.

The fundamental object and principle of the Bardic system were, the search after truth, and a right adherence to justice and peace. They never bore arms, nor engaged in any party disputes; so that eventually they became totally exempted from all political connections; and they were therefore employed as heralds in war between different powers. So sacred were their persons considered, in the office of mediators, that they passed unmolested through hostile

countries, and even appeared in the midst of battle, to arrest the arm of slaughter, while they executed their missions. But this state of disinterested virtue was at length the means of procuring to the Order the supreme influence in the nation, by the perversion of its original principles; as we find to have been the case amongst the Gauls, where the office of Archdruid was established and made permanent, in direct violation of those principles; and this high-priest had acquired so great an ascendancy as to struggle successfully against the Roman power for nearly five hundred years.

Their idea with respect to the moral government of the world was, that life was gradually increasing in perfection; that therefore truth and justice were advancing therewith; so that the Bards looked for a period when those attributes should predominate over the principles of evil and devastation: that when that period arrived, man would begin to make rapid approaches towards that perfection which his state was capable of undergoing; and then, on the consummation of such an event, the design of this terrestrial world was answered, and it would be changed into another state by fire.

The theology of the Bards was shortly this: they believed in the existence of one Supreme Being, of whom they reasoned, that he could not be material, and that, what was not matter, must be God. The soul was considered to be a lapsed intelligence; and the punishment it was susceptible of, was a total privation of knowledge; and the possession of that knowledge was deemed essentially to imply happiness. To effect this punishment, and destruction of evil, the soul was cast into *Anoon*, the extremity of which was the lowest point of existence; and to regain its former state, it must pass

through all the intermediate modes of existence. For such a purpose, they say, God created this as well as other innumerable worlds; that is, for the progression of intelligences through all modes of being, approximating eternally towards himself. Further, that this earth was originally covered with water, which, gradually subsiding, land animals appeared, but of the lowest and least perfect species; and thus corresponding in organization with the then capacity of the soul. New orders in the scale of being were successively produced from these, whose frames and intellects improved through many ages: thus also augmenting the store of knowledge, or happiness; so that ultimately man appeared the most perfect receptacle of the soul on this earth. For this was a state wherein the soul had so augmented its faculties or knowledge, as to be capable of judging between good and evil; consequently it was a state of liberty and of choice. If the soul became attached to evil, it fell again to brutal life, or state of necessity, to a point corresponding with its turpitude of human existence; and it again transmigrated towards the state of man, for a renewed probation. When the soul became attached to good; death was its release from the human to a higher sphere of existence, where the loss of memory was done away; so that it then recollected the œconomy of every inferior mode of existence; thus being made happy in the knowledge of all animated nature below its then condition, it became elevated higher and higher in the scale of intelligence to eternity, and consequently increased in knowledge and happiness.

Such was the original system of the Bards; but like all other systems of theology, it was corrupted and abused: the rank weeds

of superstition were sown for the sake of power, and they grew luxuriantly in a field originally cultivated to yield more wholesome fruit.

Amongst the first aberrations, may be traced that of the knowledge of the great *Huon*, or the Supreme Being, which was obscured in the hieroglyphics or emblems of his different attributes, so that the grovelling minds of the multitude often sought not beyond those representations, for the objects of worship and adoration. This opened an inlet for numerous errors more minute; and many superstitions became attached to their periodical solemnities, and more particularly to their rejoicing fires, on the appearance of vegetation in spring, and on the completion of harvest in autumn. Others of less note grew into importance, from the peculiarity of some ceremonies; such as cutting the misletoe with a golden hook by the presiding Druid; the gathering of the cowslip, and other plants consecrated to the power of healing. The autumnal fire is still kindled in North Wales, being on the eve of the first day of November, and is attended by many ceremonies; such as running through the fire and smoke, each casting a stone into the fire, and all running off at the conclusion to escape from the black short-tailed sow; then supping upon parsnips, nuts, and apples; catching up an apple suspended by a string with the mouth alone, and the same by an apple in a tub of water: each throwing a nut into the fire; and those that burn bright, betoken prosperity to the owners through the following year, but those that burn black and crackle, denote misfortune. On the following morning the stones are searched for in the fire, and if any be missing, they betide ill to those who threw them in.

The authority assumed by the Bards of excommunication during the purity of the system, was an useful corrective in their discipline: but when the civil government became in a degree coalesced with the Order, the sentence pronounced in the circle was clothed in all the terrors that surround an outlaw in modern times. Then too, their doctrine of expiation by sacrifice extended to more awful victims, for all the criminals, (among whom captives taken in war were often considered the most guilty,) were collected together at the great yearly assemblies; and there, in attoning for their offences, presented a spectacle to the whole nation at once impressive and tremendous.

In tracing the origin of the Bardic system, we are led back to very remote antiquity. The first who made verse the vehicle of instruction and of record, according to the Triads, was Tydain Tâd Awen, or Tydain father of the Muse, between whom and Taaut, Thoth, or Hermes of the Ægyptians, there is a striking conformity as well in the names as in their attributes. From this original were derived the privileges and peculiar customs, which were arranged and methodized by the three primæval Bards, Plennydd, Alon, and Gwron, and then sanctioned and adopted as a part of the constitution of the nation, and which before only received through courtesy what afterwards was insured by law. The Triads differ as to the period when this took place, whether in the time of Prydain son of Aedd the Great, or of Dyvnwal Moelmud his son. The exact æra of all these personages is lost in antiquity; but it is curious to observe that the Alon here mentioned, seems to be the same with Olen the Hyperborean, Ailinus or Linus in the Græcian mythology. It may be pertinent here to notice another Triad,

wherein it is said, that Gwyddon Ganhebon was the first who composed verse; that Hu the Mighty was the first who made the vehicle of record and instruction; and that Tydain Tâd Awen was the first who reduced it to an art, and fixed rules of composition; and hence originated Bards and Bardism, and the regulation of the system in all its privileges, by the three primæval Bards, Plenydd, Alon and Gwron. The Gwyddon Ganhebon above mentioned, seems according to another Triad, to have achieved a work that is to be identified with the pillars of Hermes in Egypt; for this Triad mentions three great exploits, one of them being "The stones of Gwyddon Ganhebon, upon which were to be read all the arts and sciences in the world."

It does not appear that the Bards had any mythological fables. They had Triads, and other kinds of aphorisms, containing their political, moral, religious, and other maxims and branches of knowledge, which it was necessary that every disciple should learn by heart, before he could gain admission into the Order. Of these things as many are still preserved as would take up a long time for a person of common capacity to acquire.

Whatever superstitions might have originally belonged to the system, must in a great measure, or perhaps totally have been expunged by the introduction of Christianity. In other respects, I believe that the system is still preserved as to the general principles within a small district of Glamorganshire; whilst it has become nearly unknown in every other part of Wales for several ages. This appears more particularly from a celebrated Eisteddvod or congress held at Carmarthen, about the year 1450, against which the synod of the Bards of Glamorgan protested, as being totally subversive of

the ancient institutions as preserved by them. This congress at Carmarthen and those subsequently held in North Wales, were scarcely any thing more than the simple meetings of poets and minstrels under a few common and indispensable regulations for the sake of good order ; and therefore not worthy of particular notice.

The chair of Glamorgan being the only one that preserved the ancient Bardic institutes ; it is of consequence to bring it more particularly to the notice of the public : for without it, we should have probably nothing left of Bardism or Druidism except in scattered ruins, of which nothing satisfactorily could now be made out.

This provincial Chair or Gorsedd has regularly preserved the ancient discipline, and has occasionally held public meetings to give effect to the functions of the Bards belonging to it. Some of these meetings were expressly convened at the desire of the Lords Marchers and other powerful families, who were desirous of learning something of this extraordinary system, which was so formed, as to have within itself the means of self-preservation under all the great changes of the nation. And to satisfy the wishes of those noble personages, several of the most intelligent Bards of the times were appointed to collect together and digest every particular relating to the Order. Of the congresses convoked by such authorities, the first was under the patronage of Sir Richard Neville ; a subsequent one was held under the auspices of William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, at Cardiff castle in 1570 ; another in 1580, under the direction of Sir Edward Lewis, of the Van ; and the last for such special purpose was held at Bewpyr castle in 1681, under the authority of Sir Richard Basset.

The result of these meetings was entered into books, which were revised in the last mentioned congress, and of which manuscript copies are still extant ; and the original register of the last meeting is in the possession of Mr Turberville of Llan Haran in Glamorganshire.

CHAPTER XIII.

THEIR SYMPHONIES AND SONGS.

IN their musical concerts they do not sing in unison like the inhabitants of other countries, but in many different parts ; so that in a company of singers, which one very frequently meets with in Wales, you will hear as many different parts and voices as there are performers, who all at length unite, with organic melody, in one consonance, and the soft sweetness of B flat. In the northern district of Britain, beyond the Humber, and on the borders of Yorkshire, the inhabitants make use of the same kind of symphonious harmony, but with less variety ; singing only in two parts, one murmuring in the base, the other warbling in the acute or treble. Neither of the two nations has acquired this peculiarity by art, but by long habit, which has rendered it natural and familiar ; and the practice is now so firmly rooted in them, that it

the accessory into the principal, The same person on seeing the half-length portrait of his brother Quintus Cicero, drawn with very large features and an immense shield, exclaimed, "Half of my brother is greater than the whole!" When the sister of Faustus had an intrigue with a fuller; "Is it strange," says he, "that my sister has a spot, when she is connected with a fuller?" When Antiochus shewed Hannibal his army, and the great warlike preparations he had made against the Romans, and asked him, "Thinkest thou, O Hannibal, that these are sufficient for the Romans?" Hannibal, ridiculing the unmilitary appearance of the soldiers, wittily and severely replied, "I certainly think them sufficient for the Romans, however greedy;" Antiochus asking his opinion about the military preparations, and Hannibal alluding to them as becoming a prey to the Romans.

CHAPTER XV.

THEIR BOLDNESS AND CONFIDENCE IN SPEAKING.

NATURE hath given not only to the highest, but also to the inferior classes of the people of this nation, a boldness and confidence in speaking and answering, even in the presence of their princes and chieftains. The Romans and Franks had the same faculty, but neither the English, nor the Saxons and Germans, from whom they are descended, had it. It is in vain urged, that this defect may arise from the state of servitude which the English endured; for the Saxons and Germans, who enjoy their liberty, have the same failing, and derive this natural coldness of disposition from the frozen region they inhabit; the English also, although placed in a distant climate, still retain the exterior fairness of complexion and inward coldness of disposition, as inseparable from their original and natural character. The Britons, on the contrary, transplanted from the hot and parched regions of Dardania into these more temperate districts, as

“ *Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt;*”

still retain their brown complexion and that natural warmth of temper from which their confidence is derived; for three nations, remnants of the Greeks after the destruction of Troy, fled from Asia into different parts of Europe: the Romans under Æneas, the Franks under Antenor, and the Britons under Brutus; and from thence

arose that courage, that nobleness of mind, that ancient dignity, that acuteness of understanding, and confidence of speech, for which these three nations are so highly distinguished. But the Britons, from having been detained longer in Greece than the other two nations, after the destruction of their country, and having migrated at a later period into the western parts of Europe, retained in a greater degree the primitive words and phrases of their native language. You will find amongst them the names Oenus, Resus, Æneas, Hector, Achilles, Heliodorus, Theodorus, Ajax, Evander, Uliex, Anianus, Elisa, Guendolena, and many others, bearing marks of their antiquity. It is also to be observed, that almost all words in the British language correspond either with the Greek or Latin, as *υδωρ*, water, is called in British, *dwr*; *αλς*, salt, in British, *halen*; *ονομα*, eno, a name; *πεντε*, pump, five; *δεκα*, deg, ten: the Latins also use the words *frænum*, *tripos*, *gladius*, *lorica*; the Britons, *ffrwyn*, *tribedd*, *clledhyf*, and *llurig*; *unicus*, is made *unig*; *canis*, *cwn*; and *belua*, *beleu*.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCERNING THE SOOTHSAYERS OF THIS NATION, AND PERSONS,
AS IT WERE POSSESSED.

THERE are certain persons in Cambria, whom you will find no where else, called Awenydhion,^a or people inspired; when consulted upon any doubtful event they roar out violently, are rendered beside themselves, and become, as it were, possessed by a spirit: they do not deliver the answer to what is required in a

^a Awenydhion, in a literal sense, means persons inspired by the Muse, and is derived from Awen and Awenydd, a poetical rapture, or the gift of poetry. It was the appellation of the disciples, or candidates for the Bardic Order; but the most general acceptance of the word was, Poets, or Bards. They wore a variegated dress of the Bardic colours, blue, green, and white: to be admitted into this class, the first requisite was, unimpeached morals; for it was indispensably necessary that the candidate should, above all things, be a good man. He was seldom initiated into any thing considerable until his understanding, affections, morals, and principles in general, had undergone severe trials; his passions and faculties were closely observed and exercised when he was least aware of it; at all times, and in all places, and on every occasion possible, there was an eye, hid from his observation, continually fixed upon him; and from the knowledge thus obtained of his head and heart, and, in short, his very soul scrutinized, an estimate was made of his principles and mental abilities, and agreeable to the approbation given, and in the manner and degree thought most proper, he was initiated into the mysteries, and instructed in the doctrines of Bardism. During his probationary state of discipline he was to learn such verses and adages as contained the maxims of the institution, and to compose others himself on any relative subject, doctrinal or moral. Owen.

It is worthy of notice, that this term of Awenyddion agrees in sense and sound with the Aonides of the Greeks.

connected manner; but the person who skilfully observes them, will find, after many preambles, and many nugatory and incoherent, though ornamented speeches, the desired explanation conveyed in some turn of a word: they are then roused from their ecstasy, as from a deep sleep, and, as it were, by violence compelled to return to their proper senses. After having answered the questions, they do not recover till violently shaken by other people; nor can they remember the replies they have given. If consulted a second or a third time upon the same point, they will make use of expressions totally different; perhaps they speak by the means of fanatic and ignorant spirits. These gifts are usually conferred upon them in dreams: some seem to have sweet milk or honey poured on their lips; others fancy that a written schedule is applied to their mouths, and on awaking they publicly declare that they have received this gift. Such is the saying of Esdras, “The Lord said unto me, open thy mouth, and I opened my mouth, and behold a cup full of water, whose colour was like fire; and when I had drank it, my heart brought forth understanding, and wisdom entered into my breast.” They invoke, during their prophecies, the true and living God, and the Holy Trinity, and pray that they may not by their sins be prevented from finding the truth. These prophets are only found among the Britons descended from the Trojans. For Calchas and Cassandra, endowed with the spirit of prophecy, openly foretold, during the siege of Troy, the destruction of that fine city: on which account the high priest Helenus, influenced by the prophetic books of Calchas, and of others who had long before predicted the ruin of their country, in the first year went over to the Greeks with the sons of Priam (to whom he was high priest,) and was

afterwards rewarded in Greece ; Cassandra, daughter of King Priam, every day foretold the overthrow of the city ; but the pride and presumption of the Trojans prevented them from believing her word. Even on the very night that the city was betrayed, she clearly described the treachery and the method of it :

“ ————— tales casus Cassandra canebat,”

as in the same manner, during the existence of the kingdom of the Britons, both Merlin Caledonius and Ambrosius are said to have foretold the destruction of their nation ; as well as the coming of the Saxons, and afterwards that of the Normans ; and I think a circumstance related by Aulus Gellius worth inserting in this place. On the day that Caius Cæsar and Cneius Pompey during the civil war fought a pitched battle in Thessalia, a memorable event occurred in that part of Italy situated beyond the river Po. A priest named Cornelius, honourable from his rank, venerable for his religion, and holy in his manners, in an inspired moment proclaimed, “ Cæsar has conquered,” and named the day, the events, the mutual attack, and the conflicts of the two armies. Whether such things are exhibited by the spirit, let the reader more particularly enquire ; I do not assert they are the acts of a Pythonic or a diabolick spirit ; for as foreknowledge is the property of God alone ; so is it in his power to confer knowledge of future events. There are differences of gifts, says the Apostle, but one and the same spirit : whence Peter in his second Epistle writes, “ for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but men spake as if they were inspired by the Holy Ghost : to the same effect did the Chaldeans answer King Nebuchadonazar on the in-

terpretation of his dream, which he wished to extort from them. "There is not, say they, a man upon earth who can, O king, satisfactorily answer your question: let no king therefore however great or potent, make a similar request to any Magician, Astrologer or Chaldean, for it is a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is none other that can shew it before the king, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh." On this passage Jerom remarks, "The diviners and all the learned of this world confess, that the prescience of future events belongs to God alone: the prophets therefore who foretold things to come, spake by the spirit of God. Hence some persons object, that, if they were under the guidance of the Holy Spirit they would sometimes premise, "Thus saith the Lord God, or make use of some expression in the prophetic style: and as such a mode of prophesying is not taken notice of by Merlin, and no mention is made of his sanctity, devotion, or faith, many think that he spake by a Pythonic spirit; to which I answer, that the spirit of prophecy was given not only to the holy, but sometimes to unbelievers and Gentiles, to Baal, to the Sibylls, and even to bad people, as to Caiaphas and Bela: on which occasion Origen says: "Do not wonder, if he whom we have mentioned declares that the Scribes and Pharisees, and doctors amongst the Jews prophesied concerning Christ; for Caiaphas said: "It is expedient for us that one man die for the people:" but asserts at the same time, that because he was high priest for that year, he prophesied. Let no man therefore be lifted up, if he prophesies, if he merits prescience; for prophecies shall fail, tongues shall cease, knowledge shall vanish away; and now abideth, faith, hope, and charity: these three; but the greatest of these

is Charity, which never faileth. But these bad men not only prophesied, but sometimes performed great miracles, which others could not accomplish : John the Baptist, who was so great a personage, performed no miracle, as John the Evangelist testifies : “ And many came to Jesus and said, Because John wrought no signs,” &c. &c. ; nor do we hear that the mother of God performed any miracle : we read in the Acts of the Apostles, that the sons of Sheva cast out devils in the name of Jesus, whom Paul preached : and in Matthew and Luke we may find these words : “ Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name ? and in thy name have cast out devils ? and in thy name done many wonderful works ? and then I will profess unto them : I never knew you.” And in another place, John says : “ Master, we saw a certain man casting out devils in thy name, and forbade him, because he followeth not with us.” But Jesus said : “ Forbid him not ; no man can do a miracle in my name, and speak evil of me : for whoever is not against me, is for me.”

Alexander of Macedon, a gentile, traversed the Caspian mountains, and miraculously confined ten tribes within their promontories, where they still remain, and will continue until the coming of Elias and Enoch. We read indeed the prophecies of Merlin, but hear nothing either of his sanctity or his miracles : some say, that the prophets, when they prophesied, did not become frantic, as it is affirmed of Merlin Silvestris, and others possessed, whom we have before mentioned. Some prophesied by dreams, visions, and ænigmatical sayings, as Ezechiel and Daniel ; others by acts and words, as Noah, in the construction of the ark, alluded to the church ; Abraham, in the slaying of his son, to the passion of Christ ;

and Moses by his speech, when he said, “ A prophet shall the Lord God raise up to you of your brethren ; hear him ;” meaning Christ. Others have prophesied in a more excellent way by the internal revelation and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, as David did when persecuted by Saul : “ When Saul heard that David had fled to Naioth (which is a hill in Ramah, and the seat of the prophets), he sent messengers to take him ; and when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing at their head, the Spirit of God came upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied : and he sent messengers a second and again a third time, and they also prophesied : and Saul enraged went thither also : and the Spirit of God was upon him also, and he went on, and prophesied until he came to Naioth, and he stripped off his royal vestments, and prophesied with the rest for all that day and all that night, whilst David and Samuel secretly observed what passed :” nor is it wonderful that those persons who suddenly receive the Spirit of God, and so signal a mark of grace, should for a time seem alienated from their earthly state of mind.

CHAPTER XVII.

THEIR LOVE OF HIGH BIRTH AND ANCIENT GENEALOGY.

THE Welsh esteem noble birth and generous descent above all things,^a and are therefore more desirous of marrying into good than rich families. Even the common people retain their genealogy, and can not only readily recount the names of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers, but even refer back to the sixth or seventh generation, or beyond them, in this manner: Rhys son of Gruffydh, son of Rhys, son of Theodor, son of Eineon, son of Owen, son of Howel, son of Cadelh, son of Roderic Mawr, and so on.

Being particularly attached to family descent, they revenge with vehemence the injuries which may tend to the disgrace of their blood; and being naturally of a vindictive and passionate disposition, they are ever ready to avenge not only recent but ancient

^a Genealogies were preserved as a principle of necessity under the ancient British constitution. A man's pedigree was in reality his title deed, by which he claimed his birthright in the country. Every one was obliged to shew his descent through nine generations, in order to be acknowledged a free native, and by which right he claimed his portion of land in the community. He was affected with respect to legal process, in his collateral affinities through nine degrees. For instance, every murder committed had a fine levied on the relations of the murderer, divided into nine degrees; his brother paying the greatest, and the ninth in affinity the least. This fine was distributed in the same way among the relatives of the victim. A person past the ninth descent formed a new family. Every family was represented by its elder; and these elders from every family were delegates to the national council. Owen.

affronts; they neither inhabit towns, villages, nor castles, but lead a solitary life in the woods, on the borders of which they do not erect sumptuous palaces, nor lofty stone buildings, but content themselves with small huts made of the boughs of trees twisted together, constructed with little labour and expense, and sufficient to endure throughout the year: they have neither orchards nor gardens, but gladly eat the fruit of both when given to them. The greater part of their land is laid down to pasturage; little is cultivated, a very small quantity is ornamented with flowers, and a still smaller is sown: they seldom yoke less than four oxen to their ploughs; the driver walks before, but backwards, and when he falls down, is frequently exposed to danger from the refractory oxen. Instead of small sickles in mowing they make use of a moderate sized piece of iron formed like a knife, with two pieces of wood fixed loosely and flexibly to the head, which they think a more expeditious instrument; but since

“ Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus; ”

their mode of using it will be better known by inspection, than by any description. The boats^b which they employ in fishing or in crossing the rivers are made of twigs, not oblong nor pointed, but

^b The *naviculæ* mentioned by Giraldus, bear the modern name of *coracles*, and are much used on the Welsh rivers for the taking of salmon; their name is derived probably from the Celtic word *Corawg*, which signifies a *ship*.

“ Parva scapha ex vimine facta, quæ contexta crudo corio, genus navigii præbet.”
A small boat made of twigs, and covered with raw leather.

These slight boats are also mentioned by many of the ancient writers:

“ In Britannico oceano vitiles corio circumsutæ fiunt.” Pliny, lib. vii. p. 417.

almost round, or rather triangular, covered both within and without with raw hides : when a salmon thrown into one of these boats strikes it hard with his tail, he often oversets it, and endangers both the vessel and its navigator. The fishermen, according to the custom of the country, in going to and from the rivers, carry these boats on their shoulders ; on which occasion that famous dealer in fables, Bledherc, who lived a little before our time, thus mysteriously said : “ There is amongst us a people, who when they go out in search of prey, carry their horses on their backs to the place of plunder ; in order to catch their prey, they leap upon their horses, and when it is taken, carry their horses home again upon their shoulders.”

“ ————— gemuit sub pondere cymba
Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.” Virgil *Æneid* vi. 134.

“ ————— cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
Ludus, et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.” Sidonius, c. vii. 371:

The boats used by the Babylonians, as described by Herodotus, lib. i. p. 92, seem to bear a great resemblance to those used both by the ancient and modern Britons :

“ *Navigia illis sunt omnia circulari formâ, eaque ex corio. Ubi enim ligna circularia e salice coaptarunt, obtendunt extrorsus tegumenta è pellibus, quibus soli vice utuntur, carinæque loco ; nulla neque puppis, neque proræ forma discreta, verum scuti instar in orbem composita ; deinde stipula referciunt, illudque navigium flumini permittunt.*”

CHAPTER XVIII.

THEIR ANCIENT FAITH, LOVE OF CHRISTIANITY, AND DEVOTION.

IN ancient times, and about two hundred years before the overthrow of Britain, the Welsh were instructed and confirmed in the faith, by Faganus and Damianus, sent into the island at the request of King Lucius by Pope Eleutherius, and from that period when Germanus of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes, came over on account of the corruption which had crept into the island by the invasion of the Saxons, but particularly with a view of expelling the Pelagian heresy, nothing heretical or contrary to the true faith was to be found amongst the natives. But it is said that some parts of the ancient doctrines are still retained. They give the first piece broken off from every loaf of bread to the poor; they sit down to dinner by three in a company, in honour of the Trinity. With extended arms and bowing head, they ask a blessing of every monk or priest, or of every person wearing a religious habit. But they desire, above all other nations, the episcopal ordination and unction, by which the grace of the spirit is given. They give a tenth of all their property, animals, cattle, and sheep, either when they marry, or go on a pilgrimage, or, by the counsel of the church, are persuaded to amend their lives: this partition of their effects they call the great tithe, two parts of which they give to the church where they were baptized, and the third to the bishop of the

diocese. But of all pilgrimages, they prefer that to Rome, where they pay the most fervent adoration to the apostolic see. We observe that they shew a greater respect than other nations to churches and ecclesiastical persons, to the relics of saints, bells, holy books, and the cross, which they devoutly revere; and hence their churches enjoy more than common tranquillity. For peace is not only preserved towards all animals feeding in church-yards, but at a great distance beyond them, where certain boundaries and ditches have been appointed by the bishops, in order to maintain the security of the sanctuary. But the principal churches to which antiquity has annexed the greater reverence, extend their protection to the herds as far as they can go to feed in the morning and return at night. If therefore any person has incurred the enmity of his prince, on applying to the church for protection, he and his family will continue to live unmolested: but many persons abuse this indemnity, far exceeding the indulgence of the canon, which in such cases grants only personal safety; and from the places of refuge even make hostile irruptions, and more severely harass the country than the prince himself. Hermits and anachorites more strictly abstinent and more spiritual, can no where be found; for this nation is earnest in all its pursuits, and neither worse men than the bad, nor better than the good, can be met with.

Happy and fortunate indeed would this nation be, nay, completely blessed, if it had good prelates and pastors, and but one prince, and that prince a good one.

DESCRIPTION

OF

W A L E S.

BOOK II.

HAVING in the former book clearly set forth the nature, manners, and customs of the British nation, and having collected and explained every thing which could redound to its credit or glory; an attention to order now requires, that, in this second part, we should employ our pen in pointing out those particulars in which it seems to transgress the line of virtue and commendation; having first obtained leave to speak the truth, without which History not only loses its authority, but becomes undeserving of its very name. For the painter, who professes to imitate nature, loses his reputation, if, by indulging his fancy, he represents only those parts of the subject which best suit him.

Since therefore no man is born without faults, and he is esteemed the best, whose errors are the least; let the wise man consider every thing human as connected with himself. For in wordly affairs,

there is no perfect happiness under heaven ; evil borders upon good, and vices are confounded with virtues : as the report of good qualities is delightful to a well disposed mind, so the relation of the contrary should not be offensive. The natural disposition of this nation might have been corrupted and perverted by long exile and poverty ; for as poverty extinguisheth many faults, so it often generates failings that are contrary to virtue.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE INCONSTANCY AND INSTABILITY OF THIS NATION, AND THEIR WANT OF REVERENCE FOR GOOD FAITH AND OATHS.

THESE people are no less light in mind than in body, and are by no means to be relied upon ; they are easily urged to undertake any action, and are as easily checked from prosecuting it ; a people, quick in action, but more stubborn in a bad than a good cause, and constant only in acts of inconstancy. They pay no respect to oaths, faith, or truth ; and so lightly do they esteem the covenant of faith, held so inviolable by other nations, that it is usual to sacrifice their faith for nothing, by holding forth the right hand, not only in serious and important concerns, but even on every trifling occasion, and for the confirmation of almost every common assertion : they

never scruple taking a false oath for the sake of any temporal emolument or advantage; so that in civil and ecclesiastical causes, each party, being ready to swear whatever seems expedient to its purpose, endeavours both to prove and defend; although the venerable laws, by which oaths are deemed sacred, and truth is honoured and respected, by favouring the accused and throwing an odium upon the accuser, impose the burden of bringing proofs upon the latter: but to a people so cunning and crafty, this yoke is pleasant, and this burden is light.

CHAPTER II.

THEIR LIVING BY PLUNDER, AND DISREGARD OF THE BONDS OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP.

THIS nation conceives it right to commit acts of plunder, theft, and robbery, not only against foreigners and hostile nations, but even against their own countrymen. When an opportunity of attacking the enemy with advantage occurs, they respect not the leagues of peace and friendship, preferring base lucre to the solemn obligations of oaths and good faith; to which circumstance Gildas alludes in his book, concerning the overthrow of the Britons, actuated by the love of truth, and according to the rules of history, not suppressing the vices of his countrymen: “ they are neither brave

in war, nor faithful in peace." But when Julius Cæsar, great as the world itself,

" Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis,"

were they not brave under their leader Cassivellaunus? And when Belinus and Brennus added the Roman empire to their conquests? What were they in the time of Constantine, son of our Helen? What, in the reign of Aurelius Ambrosius, whom even Eutropius commends? What were they in the time of our famous Prince Arthur? I will not say fabulous. On the contrary, they, who were almost subdued by the Scots and Picts, often harassed with success the auxiliary Roman legions, and exclaimed, as we learn from Gildas, " the barbarians drove us to the sea, the sea drove us again back to the barbarians; on one side we were subdued, on the other drowned; and here we were put to death." " Were they not," says he, " at that time brave and praise-worthy?" When attacked and conquered by the Saxons, who originally had been called in as stipendiaries to their assistance, were they not brave? But the strongest argument, made use of by those who accuse this nation of cowardice, is, that Gildas, a holy man and a Briton by birth, has handed down to posterity nothing remarkable concerning them, in any of his historical works. We promise, however, a solution of the contrary in our British Topography, if God grants us a continuance of life.

As a further proof, it may be necessary to add, that from the time, when Arthur, the illustrious prince of the Britons, totally exhausted the strength of the country, by transporting the whole armed force beyond the seas; that island, which had before been so

highly illustrious for its incomparable valour, remained for many subsequent years destitute of men and arms, and exposed to the predatory attacks of pirates and robbers; so distinguished, indeed, were the natives of this island for their bravery, that by their prowess, Prince Arthur subdued almost all Cisalpine Gaul, and dared even to make an attack on the Roman Empire.

In process of time the Britons recovering their long lost population and knowledge of the use of arms, reacquired their high and ancient character. Let the different æra be therefore marked, and the historical accounts will accord. With regard to Gildas, who inveighs so bitterly against his own nation; the Britons affirm, that highly irritated at the death of his brother, whom King Arthur had slain, he wrote these invectives, and upon the same occasion threw into the sea, many other books, in which he had described the actions of Arthur, and the celebrated deeds of his countrymen; from which cause it arises, that no authentic account of so great a prince is any where to be found.

CHAPTER III.

THEIR WARLIKE ENGAGEMENTS, AND BASE AND DISHONOURABLE
FLIGHT.

IN war this nation is very severe in the first attack, terrible by their clamour and looks, filling the air with horrid shouts, and the deep toned clangor of very long trumpets; swift and rapid in their advances and frequent throwing of darts. Bold in the first onset, they cannot bear a repulse, being easily thrown into confusion as soon as they turn their backs; and they trust to flight for safety, without attempting to rally, which the poet thought reprehensible in martial conflicts:

“ Ignavum scelus est tantum fuga.

“ In vitium culpæ ducit fuga, si caret arte.”

The character given to the Teutones, in the Roman history, may be applied to this people: “In their first attack they are more than men, in the second, less than women.” Their courage manifests itself chiefly in the retreat, when they frequently return, and, like the Parthians, shoot their arrows behind them: and as after success and victory in battle, even cowards boast of their courage; so after a reverse of fortune, even the bravest men are not allowed their due claims of merit. Their mode of fighting consists in chasing the enemy or in retreating. This light armed people, relying more

on their activity than their strength, cannot struggle for the field of battle, enter into close engagements, or endure long and severe actions, such as the poet describes :

“ Jam clypeo clypeus, umbone repellitur umbo,
 “ Ense minax ensis, pede pes, et cuspidē cuspis.”

Though defeated and put to flight on one day, they are ready to resume the combat on the next, neither dejected by their loss, nor their dishonour ; and although perhaps they do not display great fortitude in open engagements, and regular conflicts, yet they harass the enemy by ambuscades and nightly sallies. Hence, neither oppressed by hunger nor cold ; not fatigued by martial labours, nor despondent in adversity, but ready, after a defeat, to return immediately to action, and again endure the dangers of war ; they are as easy to overcome in a single battle, as difficult to subdue in a protracted war. The poet Claudian thus speaks of a people similar in disposition :

“ Dum pereunt, meminēre mali : si corda parumper
 “ Respirare sinas, nullo tot funera censu
 “ Prætereunt, tantique levis jactura cruoris.”

CHAPTER IV.

THEIR AMBITIOUS SEIZURE OF LANDS, AND DISSENSIONS AMONG BROTHERS.

THIS nation is above all others addicted to the digging up of boundary ditches, removing the limits, transgressing the landmarks, and extending their territory by every possible means. So great is their disposition towards this common violence, that they scruple not to claim as their hereditary right, those lands which are held under lease, or at will, on condition of planting, or by any other title, even although indemnity had been publicly secured on oath to the tenant by the lord proprietor of the soil: hence arise suits and contentions, murders and conflagrations, and frequent fratricides, increased perhaps by the ancient national custom of brothers dividing their property amongst each other. Another heavy grievance also prevails; the princes entrust the education of their children to the care of the principal men in their country; each of whom, after the death of their father, endeavours, by every possible means, to exalt his own charge above his neighbour's; from which cause great disturbances have frequently arisen amongst brothers, and terminated in the most cruel and unjust murders; and on which account friendships are found to be more sincere between foster brothers, than between those who are connected by the natural ties of brotherhood: it is also remarkable,

that brothers shew more affection to each other when dead, than when living; for they persecute the living even unto death, but revenge the deceased with all their power.

CHAPTER V.

THEIR GREAT EXACTION, AND WANT OF MODERATION.

WHERE they find plenty, and can exercise their power, they levy the most unjust exactions: immoderate in their love of food and intoxicating drink, they say with the Apostle, “ We are instructed both to abound, and to suffer need.” But do not add with him, “ becoming all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.” As in times of scarcity their abstinence and parsimony are too severe; so, when seated at another man’s table, after a long fasting, (like wolves and eagles, who, like them, live by plunder, and are rarely satisfied,) their appetite is immoderate: they are therefore penurious in times of scarcity, and extravagant in times of plenty: but no man, as in England, mortgages his property for the gluttonous gratification of his own appetite. They wish, however, that all people would join with them in their bad habits and expenses; as the commission of crimes reduces to a level all those who are concerned in the perpetration of them.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING THE CRIME OF INCEST AND THE ABUSE OF CHURCHES
BY SUCCESSION AND PARTICIPATION.

THE crime of incest hath so much prevailed, not only among the higher, but the lower orders of this people, that, not having the fear of God before their eyes, they are not ashamed of intermarrying with their relations, even in the third degree of consanguinity. They generally abuse these dispensations with a view of appeasing those enmities which so often subsist between them, “because their feet are swift to shed blood; and from their love of high descent, which they so ardently affect and covet, they unite themselves to their own people, refusing to intermarry with strangers, and arrogantly presuming on their own superiority of blood and family. They do not engage in marriage, until they have tried, by previous cohabitation, the disposition and particularly the fecundity of the person with whom they are engaged. An ancient custom also prevails of hiring girls from their parents at a certain price, and a stipulated penalty, in case of relinquishing their connection.

Their churches have almost as many parsons and parties as there are principal men in the parish: the sons, after the decease of their fathers, succeed to the ecclesiastical benefices, not by election; but by hereditary right possessing and polluting the sanctuary of God. And if a prelate should by chance presume to appoint or institute

any other person, the people would certainly revenge the injury upon the institutor and the instituted. With respect to these two excesses of incest and succession, which took root formerly in Armorica, and are not yet eradicated, Ildebert Bishop of Le Mans, in one of his Epistles, says, “ that he was present with a British priest at a council summoned with a view of putting an end to the enormities of this nation :” hence it appears that these vices have for a long time prevailed both in Britany and Britain. The words of the Psalmist may not inaptly be applied to them ; “ They are corrupt and become abominable in their doings, there is none that doeth good, no not one : they are all gone out of the way, they are altogether become abominable,” &c. &c.

CHAPTER VII.

THEIR SINS, AND THE CONSEQUENT LOSS OF BRITAIN AND OF TROY.

MOREOVER, through their sins, and particularly that detestable and wicked vice of Sodom, as well as by divine vengeance, they lost Britain, as they formerly lost Troy. For we read in the Roman history, that the Emperor Constantine having resigned the city and the Western Empire to the blessed Sylvester and his successors, with an intention of rebuilding Troy, and there establishing the chief seat of the Eastern Empire, heard a voice, saying, “Dost thou go to rebuild Sodom?” upon which, he altered his intention, turned his ships and standards towards Byzantium, and there fixing his seat of empire, gave his own propitious name to the city. The British history informs us, that Mailgon, King of the Britons, and many others, were addicted to this vice; that enormity, however, had entirely ceased for so long a time, that the recollection of it was nearly worn out. Afterwards, as if the time of repentance was almost expired, and because the nation, by its warlike successes and acquisition of territory, was unusually increased in population and strength; they boast in their turn, and most confidently and unanimously affirm, that in a short time their countrymen shall return to the island, and, according to the prophecies of Merlin, the nation and even the name of foreigners shall be extinguished in the island, and the Britons shall exult again in their ancient name and privileges. But to me it appears far otherwise, for since

“ *Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis ;
Nec facile est æquâ commoda mente pati.*”

And because

“ *Non habet unde suum paupertas pascat amorem,
Divitiis alitur luxuriosus amor.*”

So that their abstinence from that vice, which in their prosperity they could not resist, may be attributed more justly to their poverty and state of exile, than to their sense of virtue. For they cannot be said to have repented, when we see them involved in such an abyss of vices, perjury, theft, robbery, rapine, murders, fratricides, adultery, and incest, and become every day more entangled and ensnared in malice ; so that the words of the prophet Hosea may be truly applied to them, “ there is no truth, nor mercy,” &c. &c.

Other matters of which they boast are more properly to be attributed to the diligence and activity of the Norman kings, than to their own merits or power. For previous to the coming of the Normans, when the English kings contented themselves with the sovereignty of Britain alone, and employed their whole military force in the subjugation of this people, they almost wholly extirpated them ; as did King Offa, who by a long and extensive dyke separated the British from the English ; Ethelfrid also, who demolished the noble city of Legions,^a and put to death the monks of the celebrated monastery at Banchor,^b who had been called in to

^a By the city of Legions Chester is meant, not Caerleon.

^b The historian Cressy informs us, that a school of learning was established at Banchor in the time of King Lucius, A. D. 189 ; and Bale adds, that at that period it

promote the success of the Britons by their prayers; and lastly Harold, who himself on foot, with an army of light armed infantry, and conforming to the customary diet of the country, so bravely penetrated through every part of Wales, that he scarcely left a man

was a college of Christian philosophers. From the former I shall transcribe the account of the slaughter of the monks at Banchor: "The year of our Lord six hundred and thirteen was blackened by a grievous calamity happening to the Britons, and among them principally to those who least deserved it, the religious monks of the famous monastery at Banchor. Which calamity was brought upon them by the barbarous King of the Northumbrians, Ethelfrid, who well deserved the surname of *ferus*, or savage. The following story is related of him by Saint Beda: The most powerful King of the Angles, Ædilfrid, having gathered a mighty army, made a terrible slaughter of the perfidious Britons at the city of Legions, in the English tongue called Legacester, but more rightly in the British *Caer-legion*, or Chester. When he was ready to begin the battle, he saw their priests, who were met together in order to pray to God for their army, standing apart from it in a place of greater safety; whereupon he enquired who those men were, and for what design they were assembled in that place? Now most of them were of the monastery of Banchor, in which the number of monks was so great, that being divided into seven companies, each under a particular president, every company consisted of no fewer than seven hundred, and all lived by manual labour. They had resorted to the army, after having celebrated a fast for three days, to offer up their prayers on its behalf; and a person, named Brochmael, was appointed as their leader, with convenient forces to protect them from their enemies, whilst they were intent upon their prayers.

"King Ædilfrid, having understood the cause why these monks were come together, said, 'If it then be true, that they cry unto their God against us, they do truly fight against us; and though they wear no arms, yet they persecute us with their imprecations.' Thereupon he ordered the attack to be made upon them first; and he afterwards destroyed the remainder of the Britons, though not without a considerable loss on his own side. It is reported, that of those monks who came to pray, there were no fewer slain than twelve hundred, and that fifty only escaped by flight; for Brochmael at the first charge of the enemy fled with all his soldiers, leaving those, whom he ought to have defended, naked and unarmed to the swords of the barbarous Saxons." Cressy, Vol. I. p. 320.

Another ancient historian, speaking of this event, says, "*Testis est Legionum civitas, quæ nunc simpliciter Cestra vocatur, quæque ad id temporis à Britannis possessa,*

alive in it; and as a memorial of his signal victories, many stones may be found in Wales bearing this inscription: *HIC VICTOR FUIT HAROLDUS.*—HERE HAROLD CONQUERED.*

To these bloody and recent victories of the English, may be attributed the peaceable state of Wales during the reigns of the three

contumacis in regem populi alebat superbiam, ad cujus oppugnationem cum intendisset animum; oppidani, qui omnia perpeti, quàm obsidionem mallent, simul et numero confisi, effusè in bellum ruunt, quos ille insidiis exceptos fudit, fugavitque: priùs in monachos debacchatus, qui pro salute exercitus supplicaturi frequentes convenerant. Quorum incredibilem nostrâ ætate numerum fuisse indicio sunt, in vicino cœnobio tot semiruti parietes ecclesiarum, tot anfractus porticum, tanta turba rudum, quantum vix alibi cernas.” Will. Malmesbury, p. 18.

* Of the stones inscribed “*HIC VICTOR FUIT HAROLDUS,*”—HERE HAROLD CONQUERED, no original, I believe, remains extant at this very remote period; but at the village of Trelech in Monmouthshire, there is a modern pedestal bearing the above inscription.—See the description and engraving in Coxe’s *Monmouthshire*, p. 234.

Harold the Dane was son of Earl Godwyn, and according to the words of the *Welsh Chronicle* was induced to come into Wales by Caradoc ap Gruffyth ap Rytherch, in order to oppose Gruffyth ap Llewelyn, and by whose assistance he hoped to obtain the government of South Wales. But it fell out otherwise: for when Harold understood that he should not get that at the hands of Caradoc which he looked for, which was a certain lordship in Wales nigh unto Hereford; and knowing also Caradoc to be a subtile and deceitful man; compounding with Meredyth for that lordship, he made him King of South Wales, and banished Caradoc out of the country. Harold having afterwards obtained that lordship, he builded there a princely and sumptuous house at a place called Portscwit, (near the Bristol channel and the new passage.)

Giraldus in Chapter XI. Book II. of his *Itinerary* says, “that Harold, the last of the Saxon kings, having escaped from the battle of Hastings with the loss of his left eye, retired to the neighbourhood of Chester, and there ended his days in religious solitude.” Here our author seems to have committed a careless biographical error, for though historians differ as to the *manner* of his death, they all seem to concur in fixing the *scene* of it, viz. at the battle of Hastings.

William of Malmesbury, page 101, at the same time that he records his death in the battle of Hastings, pays this tribute to his bravery: “*At ubi jactu sagittæ violato*

first Norman kings; when the nation encreased in population, and being taught the use of arms and the management of horses, by the English and Normans, (with whom they had much intercourse, by following the court, or by being sent as hostages,) took advantage of the necessary attention which the three succeeding kings were obliged to pay to their foreign possessions, and once more lifting up their crests, recovered their lands, and spurned the yoke that had formerly been imposed upon them.

cerebro procubuit Haroldus, fuga Anglorum perennis in noctem fuit. Emicuit ibi virtus amborum ducum. Haroldus non contentus munere imperatorio, ut hortaretur alios, militis officium sedulò exequabatur; sæpe hostem cominùs venientem ferire, ut nullus impunè accederet, quin statim uno ictu eques et equus prociderent. Jacentis femur unus militum gladio proscidit, unde à Willielmo ignominia notatus, quod rem ignavam et pudendam fecisset, militiâ pulsus est.—Corpus Haroldi matri repetenti sine pretio Willielmus misit. Acceptum itaque apud Waltham sepelivit, quam ipse ecclesiam ex proprio constructam in honore Sanctæ Crucis canonicis impleverat.”

The monk of Chester, Lib. VI. p. 262, agrees with Malmesbury about his death at Hastings, and burial at Waltham.——

“ At last Harolde was smiten with an arowe, and lost his one eye, and was hurte on the brayne, and felle downe in that place, and one of the knyghtes smote hym in the thyghe whyle he laye there; and therefore Wylliam put that knyght out of the chyvalrye, for he hadde done an uncummynge dede.

“ Wylliam sende Harolde’s body to Harolde’s mother without any mede, as she had prayed; and she buried hym at Waltham in the Abbaye of Chanons, that Harolde had founded. But Gyraldus Cambrensis, in his book called *Itinerarius*, wolde meane, that Harolde had many woundes, and lost his lefte eye with the strooke of an arrowe, and was overcome, and escaped to the countree of Chester, and lyved there holyly, as men troweth an anker’s (anachorite’s) lyfe in Saynt James’s cellt fas by Saynt John’s chyrch, and made a goede ende, and was knowen by his last confessyon, and the comune fame accorded in that cyte to that same.

“ Also Aluredus Rivallēsis, in Saynt Edward’s lyfe, Cap. XXVI. sayth, that Harolde other dyed wretchydly, other he escaped and was preserved to doo worthy penaunce.”

CHAPTER VIII.

IN WHAT MANNER THIS NATION IS TO BE OVERCOME.

THE prince who would wish to subdue this nation, and govern it peaceably, must use this method. He must be determined to apply a diligent and constant attention to this purpose for one year at least; for a people who with a collected force will not openly attack the enemy in the field, nor wait to be besieged in castles, is not to be overcome at the first onset, but to be worn out by prudent delay and patience. Let him divide their strength, and by bribes and promises endeavour to stir up one against the other, knowing the spirit of hatred and envy which generally prevails amongst them: and in the autumn, let not only the marches, but also the interior part of the country be strongly fortified with castles, provisions, and confidential families. In the mean time the purchase of corn, cloth, and salt, with which they are usually supplied from England, should be strictly interdicted; and well manned ships placed as a guard on the coast to prevent their importation of these articles from Ireland or the Severn sea, and to facilitate the supply of his own army. Afterwards, when the severity of winter approaches, when the trees are void of leaves, and the mountains no longer afford pasturage; when they are deprived of any hopes of plunder, and harassed on every side by the repeated attacks of the enemy; let a body of light armed infantry penetrate into their

woody and mountainous retreats, and let these troops be supported and relieved by others ; and thus by frequent changes, and replacing the men who are either fatigued or slain in battle, this nation may be ultimately subdued ; nor can it be overcome without the above precautions, nor without great danger and loss of men. Though many of the English hired troops may perish in a day of battle, money will procure as many or more on the morrow for the same service : but to the Welsh, who have neither foreign nor stipendiary troops, the loss is for the time irreparable. In these matters therefore, as an artificer is to be trusted in his trade, so attention is to be paid to the counsel of those, who having been long conversant in similar concerns, are become acquainted with the manners and customs of their country, and whom it greatly interests, that an enemy, for whom during long and frequent conflicts they have contracted an implacable hatred, should by their assistance be either weakened or destroyed. Happy should I have termed the borders of Wales inhabited by the English, if their kings in the government of these parts, and in their military operations against the enemy, had rather employed the marchers and barons of the country, than adopted the counsels and policy of the people of Anjou and the Normans. In this, as well as in every other military expedition, either in Ireland or in Wales, the natives of the marches, from the constant state of warfare in which they are engaged, and whose manners are formed from the habits of war, are bold and active, skilful on horseback, quick on foot, not nice as to their diet, and ever prepared when necessity requires to abstain both from corn and wine. By such men were the first hostile attacks made upon Wales as well as Ireland, and by such men alone can their

final conquest be accomplished. For the Flemings, Normans, Coterells, and Bragmans, are good and well disciplined soldiers in their own country ; but the Gallic soldiery is known to differ much from the Welsh and Irish : in their country the battle is on level, here on rough ground ; there in an open field, here in forests ; there they consider their arms as an honour, here as a burden ; there soldiers are taken prisoners, here they are beheaded ; there they are ransomed, here they are put to death. Where therefore the armies engage in a flat country, a heavy and complex armour, made of cloth and iron, both protects and decorates the soldier ; but when the engagement is in narrow defiles, in woods or marshes, where the infantry have the advantage over the cavalry, a light armour is preferable : for light arms afford sufficient protection against unarmed men, by whom victory is either lost or won at the first onset ; where it is necessary that an active and retreating enemy should be overcome by a certain proportional quantity of moderate armour : for with a more complex sort, and with high and curved saddles, it is difficult to dismount, more so to mount, and with the greatest difficulty can such troops march, if required, with the infantry. In order therefore that

“ *Singula quæque locum teneant sortita decenter ;*”

we maintain it is necessary to employ heavy armed, and strong troops against men heavily armed, depending entirely upon their natural strength, and accustomed to fight in an open plain ; but against light armed and active troops, who prefer rough ground ; men accustomed to such conflicts, and armed in a similar manner, must be employed. But let the cities and fortresses on the Severn,

and the whole territory on its western banks towards Wales, occupied by the English, as well as the provinces of Shropshire and Cheshire, which are protected by powerful armies, or by any other special privileges and honourable independance, rejoice in the provident bounty of their prince. There should be a yearly examination of the warlike stores, of the arms, and horses, by good and discreet men deputed for that purpose, and who, not intent upon its plunder and ruin, interest themselves in the defence and protection of their country ; by these salutary measures, the soldiers, citizens, and the whole mass of the people being instructed and accustomed to the use of arms, liberty may be opposed by liberty, and pride be checked by pride. For the Welsh, who are neither worn out by laborious burdens, nor molested by the exactions of their lords, are ever prompt to avenge an injury : hence arise their distinguished bravery in the defence of their country ; hence their readiness to take up arms, and to rebel. Nothing so much excites, encourages, and invites the hearts of men to probity, as the chearfulness of liberty : nothing so much dejects and dispirits them as the oppression of servitude. This portion of the kingdom protected by arms and courage, might be of great use to the prince, not only in these or the adjacent parts, but, if necessity required, in more remote regions : and although the public treasury might receive a smaller annual revenue from these provinces, yet the deficiency would be abundantly compensated by the peace of the kingdom, and the honour of its sovereign ; especially as the heavy and dangerous expenses of one military expedition into Wales, usually amount to the whole income arising from the revenues of the province.

CHAPTER IX.

IN WHAT MANNER WALES, WHEN CONQUERED, SHOULD BE GOVERNED.

As therefore this nation is to be subdued by resolution in the manner proposed, so when subdued, its government must be directed by moderation, according to the following plan: let the care of it be committed to a man of a firm and determined mind; who, during the time of peace, by paying due obedience to the laws, and respect to the government, may render it firm and stable: for, like other nations in a barbarous state, this people, although they are strangers to the principles of honour, yet above all things desire to be honoured; and approve and respect in others that truth which they themselves do not profess. Whenever the natural inconstancy of their indisposition shall induce them to revolt, let punishment instantly follow the offence; but when they shall have submitted themselves again to order, and made proper amends for their faults (as it is the custom of bad men to remember wrath after quarrels,) let their former transgression be overlooked, and let them enjoy security and respect, as long as they continue faithful: thus, by mild treatment, they will be invited to obedience and the love of peace, and the thought of certain punishment will deter them from rash attempts. We have often observed persons who, confounding these matters, by complaining of faults, depressing for services, flattering in war, plundering in peace, despoiling the weak, paying respect

to revolvers ; by thus rendering all things confused, have at length been confounded themselves. Besides, as circumstances which are foreseen do less mischief ; and as that state is happy which thinks of war in the time of peace ; let the wise man be upon his guard, and prepared against the approaching inconveniences of war, by the construction of forts, the widening of passes through woods, and the providing of a trusty household ; for those who are cherished and sustained during the time of peace, are more ready to come forward in times of danger, and are more confidently to be depended upon ; and as a nation unsubdued ever meditates plots under the disguise of friendship, let not the prince or his governor entrust the protection of his camp or capital to their fidelity. By the examples of many remarkable men, some of whom have been cruelly put to death, and others deprived of their castles and dignities, by their own neglect and want of care ; we may see, that the artifices of a crafty and subdued nation are much more to be dreaded than their open warfare ; their good-will than their anger, their honey than their gall, their malice than their attack, their treachery than their aggression, and their pretended friendship more than their open enmity. A prudent and provident man therefore should contemplate in the misfortunes of others what he ought himself to avoid ; correction taught by example is harmless, as Ennodius^a says : “ The ruin of predecessors instructs those who succeed ; and a former miscarriage becomes a future caution.” If a well-disposed prince should wish these great designs to be accomplished without the effusion of blood ; the marches, as we before mentioned, must be put into a state of defence on all sides, and all intercourse by sea and

^a In one MS. of Giraldus in the British Museum, this name is written Ovidius.

land interdicted; some of the Welsh may be stirred up to deadly feuds, by means of stipends, and by transferring the property of one person to another; and thus worn out with hunger, and a want of the necessaries of life, and harassed by frequent murders and implacable enmities, they will at last be compelled to surrender.

There are three things which ruin this nation, and prevent its enjoying the satisfaction of a fruitful progeny: first, because both the natural and legitimate sons endeavour to divide the paternal inheritance amongst themselves; from which cause, as we have before observed, continual fratricides take place. Secondly, because the education of their sons is committed to the care of the high-born people of the country, who, on the death of their fathers, endeavour by all possible means to exalt their pupil; from whence arise murders, conflagrations, and almost a total destruction of the country; and, thirdly, because from the pride and obstinacy of their disposition, they will not (like other nations) subject themselves to the dominion of one lord and king.

CHAPTER X.

IN WHAT MANNER THIS NATION MAY RESIST AND REVOLT.

HAVING hitherto so partially and elaborately spoken in favour of the English, and being equally connected by birth with each nation, justice demands that we should argue on both sides ; let us therefore at the close of our work turn our attention towards the Welsh, and briefly but effectually instruct them in the art of resistance. If the Welsh were more commonly accustomed to the Gallic mode of arming, and depended more on a steady fighting than on their agility : if their princes were unanimous and inseparable in their defence ; or rather, if they had only one prince, and that a good one ; this nation, situated in so powerful, strong, and inaccessible a country, could hardly ever be completely overcome. If therefore they would be inseparable, they would become insuperable, being assisted by these three circumstances ; a country well defended by nature, a people both contented and accustomed to live upon little, a community whose nobles as well as privates are instructed in the use of arms : and especially as the English fight for power, the Welsh for liberty ; the one to procure gain, the other to avoid loss : the English hirelings for money, the Welsh patriots for their country. The English, I say, fight in order to expel the natural inhabitants from the island, and secure to themselves the possession of the whole ; but the Welsh maintain

the conflict, that they, who have so long enjoyed the sovereignty of the whole kingdom, may at least find a hiding place in the worst corner of it, amongst the woods and marshes; and, banished, as it were, for their offences, may there in a state of poverty, for a limited time, perform penance for the excesses they committed in the days of their prosperity. For the perpetual remembrance of their former greatness, the recollection of their Trojan descent, and the high and continued majesty of the kingdom of Britain, may draw forth many a latent spark of animosity, and encourage the daring spirit of rebellion. Hence during the military expedition which King Henry the Second made in our days against South Wales, an old Welshman at Pencadair, who had faithfully adhered to him, being desired to give his opinion about the royal army and whether he thought that of the rebels would make resistance, and what would be the final event of this war, replied, "This nation, O king, may now, as in former times, be harassed, and in a great measure weakened and destroyed by your and other powers, and it will often prevail by its laudable exertions; but it can never be totally subdued through the wrath of man, unless the wrath of God shall concur. Nor do I think, that any other nation than this of Wales, or any other language, whatever may hereafter come to pass, shall in the day of severe examination before the Supreme Judge, answer for this corner of the earth."

S U P P L E M E N T
TO THE
ITINERARY
AND
DESCRIPTION OF WALES
OF
GIRALDUS DE BARRI.
BY
SIR RICHARD COLT HOARE, BART.
F. R. S. F. A. S.

SUPPLEMENT.

¶ The figures between [] refer to the pages in the *Itinerary*, where these places are mentioned.

HAVING faithfully accompanied the Archbishop and his crusading attendants, through North and South Wales,

“ Per invias rupes, fera per juga,
“ Clivosque præruptos, sonantes
“ Inter aquas, nemorumque noctem ;”

And having endeavoured, either by charts, views, or annotations, to illustrate the biographical and local history of each person and place, that has been mentioned during the course of the *Itinerary*: I shall now, by retracing their route, fill up the shadows of the interesting outline which Giraldus has left us.^a In my introduction

^a The object of this supplement is to render the *Itinerary* of Giraldus an useful guide to the modern traveller through the principality, by describing those places, which from the nature of his tour he was necessarily obliged to omit. The reader will perceive, that he has made several *digressions* in order to take an opportunity of describing places which were remarkable either for their ecclesiastical or military history, and so far from thinking these digressions ill-timed, we have reason to regret that they had not been more frequent.

to the History of Wales, I had occasion to state the actual situation of the country at the time when Baldwin made his progress through it; and my readers, upon a recollection of the horrid cruelties that disgraced the annals of that period, will readily pardon a repetition of them. Let us now, therefore, consider Wales in a more pleasing point of view: its mountains crowned with many a proud fortress; and its vallies bedecked with many a hallowed sanctuary. What on a modern comparison it may lose in ecclesiastical architecture, it certainly gains in military grandeur; for though the works of Lalys^b have perished, or have been disfigured by the hand of time; yet the splendid edifices of the royal Edward still uprear their lofty turrets,^c and form a prominent and distinguished feature in the character of Cambria. Each have their use and interest; the one will recall the attention of the traveller to the bloody and historical annals of the country through which he is passing; and the other will conduct him to those truly sequestered and romantic valleys which the monks selected for their holy offices of religion.

Hereford—At this rendezvous the crusaders met, preparatory to the commencement of their holy legation; and returned to it after the completion of their object.

The cathedral church, though sadly disfigured by the trowel of modern innovation,^d still affords some fine specimens of Saxon and

^b Lalys was an architect brought into England by Richard de Granville in the year 1111. See *Itinerary*, p. 163.

^c I here allude to the stately castles of Conwy, Caernarvon, and Harlech.

^d Those, who wish to gain further information respecting the ancient front of this cathedral, may consult Mr. Duncombe's *History of Herefordshire*, Vol. I. p. 527.

Gothic architecture in its eastern front and northern porch. The series of sepulchral monuments and brasses is curious and extensive, and will prove highly interesting to those who wish to study monumental antiquities. The beautiful and perfect little oratory, adjoining the ruins of the Black Friars in Widemarsh-street, should not be overlooked.

On the road from Hereford to New Radnor, the traveller will pass immediately by the Roman station of *Magna*, now bearing the name of Kenchester,^e a particular account of which is given in my introduction. On a well wooded eminence to the north of it, called Credon Hill, is a fine British camp,^f commanding a most delightful and extensive view. A few miles further on the right is Foxley, the seat of Mr. Price, (author of the treatises on the picturesque,) where the lover of natural and unadorned scenery will be highly recompensed for his labour in ascending his beautiful terrace, and in penetrating the deep recesses of his luxuriant woods.

Old and New Radnor boast of no attractions. The country about Hay is rich and variegated: the gateway of an ancient castle,

This part of the cathedral gave way on Easter Monday, A. D. 1786, and by its fall crushed a considerable part of the nave. A fine view of it in ruins is engraved by Mr. Byrue in the second volume of his *Antiquities*; and an interesting series of four views engraved in aquatinta from drawings by Mr. Wathen, records the magnificence of the fine western front, which was richly decorated with Saxon ornaments. We have to regret the destruction of a most ancient and curious Saxon chapel at Hereford, of which a plate is given in the first volume of the *Vetusta Monumenta*.

^e The modern name accords well with that of *Magna* given to it by the Romans, and is composed of the British word *cyn* great, and *chester* castrum.

^f In my different journeys through Wales, I have observed that there is frequently a British camp near a Roman station; this is the case here as well at the Gaer near Brecon, at the Gaer near Cwm Du, and in many other places.

and a considerable extent of the old city walls are still extant. At a short distance from the town are the remains of Clifford castle. The ride from Hay to Builht on the banks of the river Wye is fine; the ruins of Aberedow castle appearing in a pretty vale on the right. Builht is an old fashioned town, containing nothing worthy of note, but the site of its ancient fortress, and the mutilated effigy of John Lhwyd, Esq. already described [19]. At a short distance to the left of the road travelled by our crusaders from Hay to Brecknock, a stately round turret announces the former residence of the Clifford family, where Mahel, the unfortunate son of Milo Earl of Hereford, lost his life [34].

Brecknock—The country and views adjoining this town claim the attention of every admirer of picturesque scenery; and a walk to the Roman station of *Gaer*, following the banks of the river Usk through the luxuriant oak woods of Lord Camden, will by no means be regretted. At a farm-house near the station, two of the Roman bricks, inscribed with the name of the *Legio secunda Augusta*, are still preserved. The antiquarian should not overlook the stone with a male and female figure sculptured upon it, which now stands immediately upon a part of the Roman causeway between the *Gaer* and Brecknock; and should he wish to pursue his researches into British antiquities, he will find many ancient camps on the adjacent hills. To those who delight in distant bird's-eye views, a visit to the summit of the Van, or Cadair Arthur, will prove highly satisfactory [65].

I would not advise the modern traveller to follow the steps of Baldwin and Giraldus through the narrow defiles and bad pass of Coed Grono [93], but would recommend him to take the more

practicable road through the delightful valley of Usk^ε to Abergavenny. In this tract he will find many objects to arrest his attention: the first will be the church at Lhanhamelech, with its ancient effigy, and the Druidical monument called *Ty Illtyd* on an adjoining hill; on the left he will have a distant view of Llyn Savathan, or Llangor's pool, and the trifling remains of Blaenllyfni castle. Passing a steep hill called the Bwlch, or pass, he will leave a Roman station, called the *Gaer*, in the parish of Cwm Dû, at a short distance to the left; and soon afterwards he will see the ruins of Tretower castle on the same side of the road; and a British fortress on an eminence to the right. The picturesque village of Crick-howel^h must for a short time detain him; the parish church contains some fine old monuments; and in the neighbourhood of the village are the remains of a castle, and a picturesque embattled gateway. From no spot does the vale of Usk appear to greater advantage than from Crick-howel.

Abergavenny (*Gobannium*)—This town and its environs have strong claims to the traveller's attention. Its castle and delightful terrace overlooking the rich vale of Usk, its church abounding in costly sculptured tombs, its beautifully variegated mountains, all conspire to render this place particularly attractive. The lofty summit of the Sugar-loaf Mountain should not remain unvisited; nor the rugged eminence of the Skiri Vawr. The traveller should digress from hence, with our Archdeacon, to the solitary vale of

^ε This valley may vie with all others in Wales for extent of beauty, and perhaps is no where so much diversified as between Brecknock and Abergavenny.

^h This village has derived its name from Crûg Howel, the rock of Howel; and there is a very ancient British work upon a hill behind Crick-howel, which still bears the same name.

Hodni, where the mouldering ruins of Lanthoni abbey will strike him with pleasure and admiration. To some persons an excursion to the Monmouthshire hills may prove interesting, where industry and art have, within these few years, converted a barren waste into a scene of active and wealthy population.ⁱ

Usk (*Burrium*) [109]—The draughtsman will find some good subjects for his pencil in the priory church, gateway, bridge, and castle; and the Welsh antiquarian may make his conjectures on the inscribed brass plate in the church, which has puzzled so many of his brethren. In the parish church of Tredonock is a Roman inscription dedicated to the memory of *Julianus*, a soldier of the second legion.

Caerleon (*Isca Silurum*) [112]—Called by Giraldus *Urbs Legionum*. Here we tread on Roman ground, and each step reminds us of the nation that once dwelt within its walls.^k In the neighbourhood of the town is the picturesque old mansion of the Herberts at St. Julian's; and a curious Saxon church at Malpas.

Newport [125]—The melancholy and dirty appearance of this town will not long detain the tourist; he will see the ruins of the castle on entering the town; and on leaving it, let him not overlook the Saxon doorway in the church of St. Wollos; and the extensive prospect which its elevated terrace commands. On his road to Cardiff, he will traverse a part of Tredegar park, where there is a large old mansion house of the Morgan family; and crossing a bridge over the river, he will enter the county of Glamorgan.

ⁱ I here allude to the extensive iron works that have been established at Beaufort, Blaen-avon, &c.

^k I shall not detain my reader with an account of this interesting city, which is accurately described by Mr. Coxe in his *Tour through Monmouthshire*.

Cardiff, [126]—This castle, once the seat of the Norman conqueror Fitz-Hamon, and now the property of the Marquis of Bute, has, from modern and ill-judged innovation, lost much of its ancient baronial grandeur: but the fine octagonal tower, the keep, and gateway, (near which is shewn the dungeon where, according to vulgar tradition, the unfortunate Robert was confined,) remain in their antique state.

From this town a very pleasing digression may be made to the singularly picturesque bridge over the river Taf, called *Pont y Pryd* in Welsh, or the Bridge of Beauty, and in English, New Bridge; and from thence to the stately ruins of Caerphilly Castle:¹ neither must

¹ It is singular that the history of this fine castle should be so little known, though much has been said and written on the subject. Camden says, that it is of such vast and stupendous workmanship, that it is almost universally allowed to be a Roman work: he further adds, that it belonged to the Clares Earls of Gloucester, and in later times to the Spencers. Mr. Daines Barrington, in his paper on the Welsh Castles, printed in the first volume of the *Archæologia*, page 288, attributes the construction of Caerphilly castle to King Edward the First, but I cannot coincide with him in opinion. Neither could the present ruins be of Roman construction, though on many accounts I have reason to think there was a Roman station in its neighbourhood; as there are evident remains of a large causeway on the mountains near Bedwelty, pointing northerly towards the station of the *Gaer* near Brecknock, and southerly towards Caerphilly; but whether there was an intermediate post or not at this place is at present doubtful; the road evidently led to the station on the river Taf, marked in the *Iter Tibia Amnis*. The name also of *Caer* savours strongly of Roman antiquity, for in this part of Wales in particular, the places prefixed with *Caer* are decidedly Roman; as for instance, Caerwent, *Venta Silurum*; Caerleon, *Isca Silurum*; Caerdiff, *Tibia Amnis*; Caermarthen, *Maridunum*; the *Gaer* near Brecon, the *Gaer* at Cwm Dû, and many similar instances may be adduced in North Wales, viz. at *Caernarvon*, *Caer Gai*, *Caer Sws*. Neither does the Welsh Chronicle throw any important light on the history of this castle: and it appears probable that modern writers have confounded the *Castell Coch*, or Red Castle, with the castle of Caerphilly, (both of which were situated in the lordship of Senghenydd,) and whose ruins are still extant.

In order, if possible, to ascertain the history of this important castle, it may be worth

the once flourishing cathedral church of Llandaff be overlooked; for, though sadly metamorphosed by the introduction of Italian

our while to search into the early records of this district, as far back, at least, as the subjugation of it by the Normans.

It appears, by the accounts given us of that transaction, that Robert Fitz-Hamon having accomplished the object of his expedition in the conquest of Glamorgan, rewarded the several knights his assistants with certain lordships, which they afterwards fortified with castles. Among the rest, he considered Eynon, the Welshman, who had first incited him to the enterprize, and gave him the mountainous district of Senghenydd. It does not, however, appear that he had at that time any castle; nor was it likely (if there had been one) that in those doubtful days Fitz-Hamon would have entrusted it to so suspicious a character as Eynon, who having already betrayed his own countrymen to him, who was a stranger, might not be very scrupulous in changing sides, and declaring against him, if occasion should offer for so doing. We are able, however, to ascertain for a certainty from the Welsh Chronicle, that there was afterwards a castle in Senghenydd; but its exact situation cannot easily be determined. I am inclined to think it was *Castell Coch*, or Red Castle, the ruins of which are visible on the well-wooded declivity of a hill in the vale of Taf, leading from Cardiff to New Bridge. The lordship of Senghenydd continued with the descendants of Eynon, till they were deprived of it by one of the Clares Earls of Gloucester, who then possessed the great lordship of Glamorgan. A note taken from a MS. pedigree informs me, that Gruffyth ap Rhys, the last Welsh lord of St. Gennith, or St. Henydd, resided at Red Castle, two miles from Cardiff, where he was besieged by Clare Earl of Gloucester; who having cast down the tower over the gate of the castle, took him and his two sons prisoners, put out their eyes, and starved them to death in prison. It is unfortunate that no date is given to this transaction in the pedigree; but it could not be later than the time of Edward the Second; for in the seventh year of his reign, Gilbert, the last Earl of Gloucester of that name, was slain in Scotland, when the lordship of Senghenydd devolved to Hugh le Despencer the younger, in right of his wife Eleanor, who was eldest sister to the deceased earl. After the fatal execution of his father at Bristol, A. D. 1326, the king, accompanied by Hugh the younger, endeavouring to make their escape in a small vessel to Ireland, were obliged by tempestuous weather and contrary winds to land on the coast of Glamorganshire; from whence they repaired to the abbey of Neth, where, notwithstanding the promises of the Welsh, Hugh did not feel himself secure; wherefore he went privately to the castle of Caerphilly, which he stoutly defended against the queen's army till Easter, and then, upon terms of capitulation for

architecture within its Gothic walls, it still retains many marks of high antiquity in its Saxon portals; and much to be admired

his safety, rendered it up, and went back again to the king. They were soon afterwards taken and delivered up prisoners to the queen and her son. The death of the unfortunate monarch in Berkeley Castle has been alluded to by Gray in one of his Odes:

Weave the warp, and weave the woof,
The winding sheet of Edward's race.
Give ample room, and verge enough
The characters of hell to trace.
Mark the year, and mark the night,
When Severn shall re-echo with affright
The shrieks of death, thro' Berk'ley's roofs that ring,
Shrieks of an agonizing king.

The death of Hugh le Despencer was signalized by every mark of infamy and cruelty. He was executed A. D. 1326, on a gallows fifty feet high; and, being quartered, his limbs were sent to four several places, and his head to London bridge; upon which occasion the following distich was made:

*Funis cum lignis, à te miser Ensis et ignis,
Hugo, securis Equus, abstulit omne decus.*
The rope because he was drawn with it:
The wood, because he was hanged thereon:
The sword, because he was beheaded therewith:
The fire, because his bowels were burnt:
The ax, because he was quartered therewith:
The horse, because he drew him.

By his widow Eleanor he had one son, named Hugh, who died without issue, leaving Edward his nephew, his son and heir. Edward departed this life in his castle at Cardiff 49 Edw. III. (a great baron and a good knight, quoth Froissard,) and was buried at Tewkesbury. Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Bartholomew de Burghersh, surviving him, had for her dowry an assignation of the castle and town of Caerphilly, the territory of Sengh (Senghenydd) above and below Taugh (Taf).

I am inclined to think that this stately castle was built by the Clare family, and that

in its beautifully sculptured tombs of alabaster [138]. Both the artist and the mechanic will be compensated by an extension of their ride along the vale of the river Taf to the iron works at Merthyr Tydvil.

From Cardiff let us proceed to Cowbridge, a fit station for those whose antiquarian curiosity may lead them to visit the numerous Norman castles with which Glamorganshire abounds. Of these Saint Donats far exceeds the rest in extent and interest. It was granted by Fitz-Hamon to William de Esterling, or Stradling, in reward of military service, and continued for above six hundred years in the possession of that family; many of whose noble achievements are recorded by monumental tablets in the parish church. This building is prettily situated in a sequestered vale: above it the castle rears its head in a commanding situation, overlooking the Bristol channel, and the distant hills of Somerset and Devon. Its

it afterwards was enlarged and fitted up, in the magnificent style now portrayed to us, by the Despenchers.

Camden says, that Caerphilly was not known before the time of Edward the Second: “Nec enim à nostris memoratur ante Edwardi II. tempora.” It is therefore probable that the Senghennydd Castle mentioned in the Welsh Chronicles was the *Castell Coch*, which stood equally within the hundred of Senghennydd.

The first mention of this castle in the Welsh Chronicle is in the year 1215, when young Rhys “tooke his journie to Senghennydd, where the garrison which laie there burnt the towne and departed.”

In the year 1217 it was committed by Reginald de Braose to the custody of Rhys Vychan, who levelled it to the ground. Between the years 1221 and 1223, we find that John de Braose, by the consent of Prince Llewelyn, fortified Senghennydd castle.

Mr. Harris, in his Dissertation on the Welsh Antiquities, (Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 11.) says, that in the ancient Welsh manuscripts it was styled the *Blue Castle*: and Camden says, that it derived the name of Caerphyli from *Kaer* and *Vyli*, the genitive of *Vwl*, or *Vul*.

original plan may, in a great measure, be traced amidst its modern alterations: the watch tower, and barracks, adjoining the castle, remain in a more perfect state than the other parts of the building.

In his road from Cowbridge to St. Donats, the traveller should not omit Llantwit, a place celebrated in British history for having been the seat of a college founded by St. Illutus, and worthy of notice in modern times, on account of the very ancient sepulchral stones that are preserved in its church-yard. From St. Donats he may proceed along the coast to Dunraven, an old seat of the Wyndham family, (near which place are some curious caverns), and rejoin the turnpike road at Ewenny.

Here again we must make a short digression to pay our devotions at the little cell of Ewenny [147], where every lover of Saxon antiquity will be highly gratified in viewing the simple and original architecture of its church, such probably as it was in the days of Giraldus. May the Norman owner of Ewenny^m take compassion on this hallowed edifice erected by his kinsman! may he restore its mouldering walls and tottering roof! and may he exalt the neglected tomb of its founder, to that dignified situation, which its high antiquity so justly merits!

Pursuing the track of our crusaders, we now reach Margan, a village most delightfully situated under a magnificent and perpendicular wood of oak, and abounding in monastic antiquities [151]. But, alas! the chapter-house, that justly admired Gothic gem, is

^m Mr. Turberville, a descendant of the Norman knight of that name, who was rewarded by Robert Fitz-Hamon with the lordship of Coity for his military services in the conquest of Glamorgan.

now no more;" and the future tourist may exclaim with too much reason and regret, "*Stat nominis umbra.*" The exterior façade of the parish church presents a fine specimen of Norman architecture, and the interior contains many costly tombs. The conservatory and orangerie of Mr. Talbot should not be overlooked.

From Margan our crusaders passed through the village of Aberavon, and over a dangerous tract of sand to Swansea; but we must diverge to Neth, and not suffer the beautiful scenery around Breton ferry to pass unnoticed. The history of Neth, its abbey, and castle, have already been given in the Itinerary [162], but some other objects in its neighbourhood merit the traveller's attention. To the north of Neth, there are several waterfalls worthy of notice; and in the same direction a long extent of the Roman causeway, leading from the station of *Nidus*, or Neth, to that of the *Gaer* near Brecknock, is visible.

Rejoining our crusaders at Swansea,[165] we will proceed with them to Lochor, (near which place was the Roman station of *Leucarum*), leaving the large promontory of Gower land on our left.^o A dreary and uninteresting road will now conduct us to Kidwelly [171], where there are considerable remains of a very fine castle. From thence we shall continue our route towards Caermarthen, ferrying first over the river Towy, and afterwards over the Tave, and visiting in our journey the castles of Lanstephan and Langharne [177]; we shall not find much to detain us within the town of Caermarthen

ⁿ By the expression (*no more*) I mean to say that all that rendered it interesting perished, when the clustered shaft supporting its groined roof fell to the ground.

^o Gower land, owing to the want of inns and other necessary accommodations, has not been often visited: it contains some Druidical remains, and the ruins of castles at Oystermouth, Penrice, and Webley.

(*Maridunum*): but we must make from hence an excursion to Llandilo, and visit the royal palace at Dinevor [180], and the British fortress of Carreg Kennen. In this journey we must follow the northern banks of the Towy to Llandilo, and return to Carmarthen by the southern. The traveller who wishes to see this fine vale to advantage must observe these directions: he will pass by Golden Grove, lately the seat of Mr. Vaughan, but now belonging to Lord Cawdor, a spot commanding every requisite beauty in point of situation, yet possessing none:^p he will then mount the summit of a hill, very appropriately called *Golwg y byd*, or the *Sight of the World*; from whence he will enjoy a most comprehensive view of the beautiful Vale of Towy one side, and of a most extensive tract of country on the other, in which the rugged eminence of Carreg Kennen forms a very conspicuous feature: on descending the hill, he will find the view towards Dinevor highly pleasing. The next object of attraction will be Drusslyn Castle, of whose history I can gain but little information. Dugdale, in his *Baronage*, Vol. I. p. 392, records that in 12 Edward II. Hugh le Despencer was constituted governor of the castles of Drosselan and Dynevor, in Wales.

Its situation is singularly bold, and its summit commands a most advantageous view of the vale of Towy, which in the opinion of

^p I here allude to the site of the mansion house, which is placed in a low situation, and surrounded with modern and formal plantations, whilst the higher grounds in the park comprehend in one point of view an unrivalled assemblage of the most beautiful and classical scenery. In the front stands Grongar hill, which has been celebrated by the poet Dyer; to the right are the luxuriant woods of Newton Park overtopped by the proud ruins of Dinevor; and to the left, the bold fortress of Drusslyn rears its insulated head in the narrowest part of one of the most luxuriant vales in Europe. Who does not envy such a situation for a residence? and who would not avail himself of it?

many, stands unequalled in South Wales, though it has a most powerful rival, I think, in the vale of Usk. Having surveyed in two different points of view, the most beautiful part of this valley, the traveller may proceed on his journey, unless, before he quits Caermarthen, he should wish to pay a tribute of admiration to the sepulchral effigy of the valiant Sir Thomas ap Rhys, and drop a tear of gratitude over the neglected grave of Sir Richard Steele [178]. If on his road to Narbeth, his curiosity should lead him to explore the cloistered recesses of the Cistercian monks of *Alba domus*, he must diverge a little to the right into the well wooded vale of Whitland [185]. From Narbeth, where there are the ruins of a castle, I strongly recommend a ride to a picturesque valley in its neighbourhood, watered by the river Cledheu, and crowned by the towers of Lawhaden castle [186]. From Caermarthen, our crusaders took the direct road to Haverfordwest; but many important objects oblige us to deviate from their route, and make a very considerable digression towards the sea coast: by so doing the traveller will have no reason to regret the loss either of antiquities or fine

¹ I could almost imagine that our poet Dyer had taken the following description of the vale of Towy from this eminence:

“ Ever charming, ever new,
 When will the landscape tire the view?
 The fountain’s fall, the river’s flow,
 The woody vallies, warm and low,
 The windy summit, wild and high,
 Roughly rushing on the sky!
 The pleasant seat, the ruin’d tower,
 The naked rock, the shady bower,
 The town and village, dome and farm,
 Each give each a double charm,
 As pearls upon an Æthiop’s arm.” Dyer, Grongar Hill.

scenery, for the road between Narbeth and Haverfordwest affords nothing particularly interesting in its immediate track. Slebach and Picton castle must not however be overlooked; but they may be easily visited either from Narbeth or Haverfordwest.^r

We shall now continue our journey to Tenbigh, a place unequalled in Wales (or perhaps I might add, in England), for the beauty of its bay, and excellence of its sea bathing; to these advantages it adds much fine natural scenery, and many other objects worthy of remark. Its castle stands on a bold point projecting into the sea; and its church and adjoining buildings contain several curious tombs, and examples of singular architecture.

From hence we must proceed to Pembroke, making during our route two digressions; the one to the stately ruins of Manorbeer castle [214], the ancient residence of the Barri family, and the birth place of Giraldus; and another to the episcopal residence of the bishops of St. David's at Lantphey court. Though not immediately on the road leading to Pembroke, the village of Carew is not far to the right, where the tourist will meet with much satisfaction in viewing the remains of a magnificent castle, a British cross in fine preservation, and many rich sepulchral monuments.

^r Slebach—Wigo and Walter his son having given lands here to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, for the recovery of the Holy Land, a preceptory of their order was settled here before A. D. 1301: for then occurs, "Will. de Tottleshall prior hospitalis S^t. Joannis Jerusalem in Angliâ et præceptor de Slebach." It was endowed at the dissolution with 211*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.* per annum in the whole, and 184*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.* clear, and granted with several other things in these parts to Roger and Thomas Barlow. Tanner *Notitia Monastica*, Pembrokeshire.

In the parish church is a richly sculptured monument of the Barlow family.

Picton castle, the seat of Lord Milford, though in some degree modernized, still bears many marks of baronial antiquity.

Pembroke [212] is our next station; a town rendered interesting to the antiquarian by the remains of its noble castle, its city walls, gates, and priory. From this place several excursions may be made: to Lawreny and Benton castle, up the river; and to the new town of Milford and Pille priory on the Haven.* To those who profess themselves admirers of the grander features of nature, and more particularly to the artist; I would recommend a pilgrimage to St. Gowen's chapel and well; for sublimer cliffs of rock are no where to be found. Lord Cawdor's seat at Stackpole Court, and the cross-legged knight† in the adjoining parish church of Cheriton may be visited on the road.

Haverfordwest [194]—After a most interesting digression, we rejoin the crusaders at Haverfordwest:‡ a town rendered extremely picturesque by the ruins of the castle, which overhangs it; the deserted priory at a short distance from the town must also be visited. From hence let us continue our route with them to the hallowed shrine of St. David, taking notice of Roch castle* on the right, and the romantic little harbour of Solvach on the left of our road. On this devotional journey we must consider ourselves as

* Adam de Rupe, or de la Roche, founded a priory here about the year 1200, and filled it with monks of the order of Tyrone, who became afterwards Benedictines. See the grants of Adam and Thomas de Rupe in Dugdale's Monasticon, Tom. I. p. 1019, in which it is called Prioratus de Pulla.

† This cross-legged knight is supposed to commemorate Elidore de Stackpole, who is mentioned in the Itinerary, Vol. I. p. 205.

‡ The crusaders proceeded in a direct line from Caermarthen to Haverfordwest, though Giraldus took the opportunity of digressing, in order to describe Pembroke and his *geniale solum* at Manorbeer.

* This castle belonged to the family de Rupe, one of whom has an effigy erected to him in Langham church.

pilgrims, and be contented with their hard and abstemious fare; for no luxuries, and scarcely even necessary comforts of life can be found within these mitred walls. So minute a detail has been given in my Itinerary [Vol. II. p. 9] of this bishopric and its appendant buildings, that I shall proceed without delay through the district of Kemeys to Cardigan. We must necessarily pass through Fishguard, where there is a curious tombstone in the church-yard; its harbour is picturesque, and the valley of the little river Gwayn abounds in pleasing scenery.^v

At Newport there are considerable remains of a large castle built by the Martins Lords of Kemeys [II. 40]; also a small Druidical cromlech. The church of Nevern [II. 44], (of which I have given an engraved plate in the Itinerary), with its well preserved British cross, deserves notice; on a hill above the church is the site of the *Castrum de Lanhever* mentioned by Giraldus. The tradition of this *Iter* of Baldwin is still commemorated by the name of a bridge over the river Duad, called *Pont Baldwin*. On a hill near the village of Pentre Evan, are the finest Druidical remains now existing in Wales; and there is another fine cromlech called *Llech y drybed* on the sea coast between Nevern and Cardigan.

Cardigan [II. 52]—From this place we must visit the ruins of St. Dogmael's abbey [II. 45], which still retains a venerable monastic appearance from the aged trees that surround it. Neither the castle, priory, nor town of Cardigan afford any subjects for admiration; but an excursion by water when the tide is up the river, to Cilgarran castle, will amply compensate the traveller for all the dreary tract

^v The port at which the French landed their forces on the Welsh coast is at a short distance from Fishguard.

of country he has lately traversed : for a more striking assemblage of natural and artificial beauties can no where be met with [II. 58].

The ride up the vale of Tivy to Newcastle Emlyn is highly pleasing ; and no part of it so much so, as the beautiful retirement of St. Ludoc at Kenarth. The ruins at Newcastle Emlyn, and the very singular windings of the river Tivy, as seen from its site, are worthy of remark [II. 65].

The country between this place and Lanpeder, the *Pons Stephani* of Giraldus, becomes less interesting in point of natural scenery ; but the antiquarian will have a wide field of inquiry open to him, in the numerous ancient encampments which crown the summits of many of the neighbouring hills. From *Pons Stephani*, or Lanbeder, the Archbishop and his attendants proceeded to the celebrated Cistercian monastery of *Strata florida*, or Stratflur, passing through an ancient Roman station at Llanio isau,² situated on the north-west banks of the Tivy, which however Giraldus has not noticed. They passed the night at Stratflur, and on the following morning returned to the sanctuary of Landewi Brevi, and from thence to the church of Saint Paternus at Lhanpadarn Vawr, near Aberystwith, where they rested the night. The modern tourist might vary this route to his advantage, by following the eastern banks of the Tivy to Landewi Brevi (where he will see some curious British inscriptions), [II. 71] and then crossing the river of Llanio isau and Tregaron. From this place, he may visit the remains of Stratflur abbey [II. 66], where he will neither find a Cistercian monk to receive him within his refectory ; nor

² An account of this Roman station is given in the Introduction.

abandon him guideless to the dangerous wilds of the surrounding mountains.^a From Stratflur, he will have a most dreary tract of country to traverse (still in our days deserving the character of rudeness attributed to it in former times),^b to the only *hospitium* which the country affords, viz. the Havod Arms near the Devil's Bridge. A day or two will be agreeably spent, in surveying the romantic grounds of Mr. Johnes, and those immediately adjoining the inn; where the active traveller must descend by a difficult and slippery path to the lower water-falls. In short, he will here find a paradise in the midst of a desert; for nothing can be more dreary and unforbidding, than the general aspect of the surrounding country. From Havod, he will descend through the vale of the Rhydol to Aberystwith, passing by the church of Saint Pater-nus at Lhanpadarn Vawr [II. 76]. The sea-port of Aberystwith merits a transient visit; its castle stands boldly situated on a commanding eminence, and the space within the ancient fortifications has been laid out into walks for the accommodation of the public. This fortress was deemed of so much importance in former times, that its possession was frequently disputed by the Welsh and English. It is said to have been rebuilt by King Edward in the year

^a During the period of the controversy between Giraldus and the Archbishop of Canterbury, an order was issued by the Earl of Essex to the Abbot of Whitland, desiring him not to admit the Archdeacon within his convent; but his power did not extend to that of Stratflur, so far as to seclude him entirely; but he gave orders that he should be received there in the most ordinary manner; and that no guide should be allowed to conduct him over the dreary tract of mountains which surround that abbey.

^b The passage of these mountains was considered so dangerous in the days of King Edward the First, that he ordered the highways to be repaired, and the forests to be cut down. See Itin. Vol. II. p. 67.

1277 ;^c but I should rather think it was only repaired, as the ruins that remain do not bespeak the costly architecture of that monarch.

NORTH WALES.

FROM Lhanpadarn Vawr, our crusaders directed their course to the river Dovey, which forms the boundary between the northern and southern divisions of the principality. They ferried over this river at a place called Aberdovey, and proceeded along the coast to Towyn [II. 79], where they slept. I would recommend the modern tourist to go from Aberystwith to Machynlleth, and examining in his way the Roman station at Penalt, rejoin his companions at Towyn; or, indeed, as this place is neither remarkable in point of situation, or antiquities, he might totally omit it, and continue his journey from Machynlleth to Dolgelley: at all events, should his enthusiastic ardour induce him to follow the steps of the Archbishop to Towyn; I must insist upon his leaving the Prelate to pursue the dreary road along the sea-coast to Barmouth; and to take himself the more mountainous track near the pretty lakes of Tal y Llyn, and under the majestic base of Cadair Idris, to Dolgelley, in

^c A. D. 1277, Rex Edwardus castrum construxit insigne apud Llanpeder ad cohibendas Wallorum irruptiones. Leland Collect. Tom. I. p. 177.

By Llanpeder is meant Lhanpadarn Vawr, which is the parish church of Aberystwith.

which route he will see some of the grandest scenery in North Wales.

Dolgelley.—Here we must halt for a few days ; for I know of no place in the principality, from whence so many pleasing and interesting excursions may be made ; and where nature bears so rich, so varied, and so grand an aspect. The ride from Dolgelley to Dinas y Mowddu, and from thence to Bala over the mountains, and back through the vale in which the river Dee takes its rise, affords much fine scenery. At the upper end of the lake of Bala is the Roman station of *Caer Gai*, situated on a gentle eminence close to the road side. Another excursion to the falls of the Maw and Eden will be highly interesting ; and the ruins of Kemmer abbey may be visited in the way to the water-falls. This abbey, of which there are considerable remains in the valley close to Llaneltid bridge, has been confounded, even by Dugdale, with an abbey in Radnorshire called Cwmhir. It was inhabited by Cistercian monks, and founded by Meredyth and Gruffydh, the sons of Conan and Gruffydh, about the year 1198, whose grants were confirmed in the most strict and ample manner by Llewelyn in the year 1209. Dugdale has been unusually inaccurate in his account of this abbey ; for he at first states it as *Abbatia in agro Penbrochiensi* ; then gives an account of Comehere, as situated in Radnorshire ; afterwards the confirmation of the grant of Llewelyn to the abbey of Kemmer, and then the confirmation of the grant by King Henry which belongs to the abbey of Cwmhir in Radnorshire. The lofty summit of Cadair Idris (which is more accessible than Snowdon, and, I have heard, as interesting) must not remain unnoticed ; the drive from Dolgelley to Barmouth may boast of natural beauties far superior to any

thing in this neighbourhood; but to see it to advantage, the traveller must wait with patience till the tide comes up the river. The village of Barmouth, from its very singular structure and situation, cannot fail to excite the surprise of the beholder.

From Barmouth we shall proceed along the sea-coast, with our crusaders, to Lanvair and Harlech [II. 85]. The objects worthy of notice on this road, are the church of Llanaber; the ancient mansion-house of Corsygedol (formerly belonging to the Vaughan, but now to the Mostyn family), where there are some landscapes by the celebrated painter Wilson; and the parish church of Llanenddwyn, which contains many sepulchral memorials to the family of Vaughan. At Harlech, our attention will be forcibly arrested by the sight of King Edward's noble castle; for the architecture and situation give us every reason to attribute its construction to his royal hand. From hence we must make a digression to Maentwrog, either by a rough and interesting mountain road, or by a passage over the sands called Traeth Bach.^d

On arriving at the comfortable little inn at Tanybwllch, the traveller will find himself on Syren ground, and surrounded on all sides by the most luxuriant and romantic scenery. Let not the artist neglect seeing a cascade called *Rhaiader-du*, or the black water-fall, which unites all the beautiful compounds for a picture of pleasing and unaffected nature.

From Tanybwllch, we must pursue a grand Alpine course to the

^d I strongly recommend the former, which will conduct the traveller by the two pretty lakes of Llyntecwyn; and on descending to Maentwrog, he will enjoy a most delightful view of the beautiful vale of Festiniog; but should he prefer crossing the sands, an experienced guide will be absolutely necessary.

Devil's bridge at Pont Aberglaslyn; from whence, changing the direction of our route, we must descend to the Traeth Mawr, or great sands, from whose level bed there is a most advantageous view of the Snowdon mountains.^e At the little village of Penmorfa, we may perhaps overtake the crusaders, and continue our journey with them (near the bold ruins of Criccieth castle)^f to Pwllheli and Nevyn [II. 89].

From this miserable village, we shall be glad to make an hasty departure, and proceed on our journey through Clynnog Vawr to Caernarvon. Some objects worthy of remark occur on this road. The first is a valley called *Nant y Gwrtheyrn*, or the *Valley of Vortigern*, whither that prince is said to have sought an asylum

^e From these sands the view engraven for this Itinerary was taken.

^f I find no mention made of this castle in the Welsh Chronicle, at least under the name it now bears. Mr. Pennant informs us, that after the conquest of Wales, King Edward appointed William de Leybourn to be constable of it, with a salary of 100*l.* per annum; for which he was obliged to maintain a garrison of thirty stout men (ten of whom were to be cross-bow men), one chaplain, one surgeon, one carpenter, and one mason. Sebright MSS.

Sir Howel y Fwyall, a descendant of Collwyn ap Tangno, was also constable of this castle. He attended the Black Prince in the battle of Poitiers, and behaved, on that memorable occasion with distinguished valour; for the prince not only bestowed upon him the constableness of the castle, which he afterwards made his residence, but knighted him; and in perpetual memorial of his good services, ordered that a mess of meat should be served up before the pole-axe, with which he performed such great feats, for which reason he bore it in his coat of arms, and was styled Sir Howel y Fwyall, or Sir Howel of the Axe: after the mess had appeared before the knight, it was carried down and bestowed on the poor. Eight yeomen attendants were appointed to guard the mess, and had eight pence a day, constant wages, at the king's charge; and those under the name of yeomen of the crown, were continued on the establishment till the reign of Queen Elizabeth. After the death of Sir Howel, the mess was carried as before, and bestowed on the poor for the sake of his soul. Pennant, Vol. II. p. 193.

against the persecution of his subjects. Mr. Pennant, Vol. II. p. 204, has pictured this retreat in the most animated colours. “Fancy cannot frame a place more fit for a retreat from the knowledge of mankind, or more apt to inspire one with full hopes of security from any pursuit. Embosomed in a lofty mountain, on two sides bounded by stoney steeps, on which no vegetables appear, but the blasted heath and stunted gorse: the third side exhibits a most tremendous front of black precipice, with the loftiest peak of the mountain Eifl soaring above; and the only opening towards this secluded spot is the sea; a northern aspect! where that chilling wind exerts all its fury, and half freezes, during the winter, the few inhabitants. Till the beginning of the last century, a tumulus was to be seen here, which was known by the name of *Bedd Gwrtheyrn*, or the *Grave of Vortigern*; tradition having regularly delivered down the report of this having been the place of his interment.”

The next place worthy of remark on this road, is Clynnog Vawr, where there is one of the largest and handsomest churches in Wales, dedicated to Saint Beuno; a saint much distinguished for his miraculous gifts. In the year 616, he founded a college at Clynnog in Arvon. The next object of attraction is a fine encampment called Dinas Dinlle, in a commanding situation on the sea-coast. A great part of the hill which it encircles, has been worn away by the washing of the waves. Some writers suppose it to have been a Roman post, and affirm that coins of that people have been found there.

The town and antiquities of Caernarvon have been already described in the Itinerary [II. 92]. A long digression will be



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absolutely necessary from this place, for without it, much of the most striking scenery of North Wales will remain unseen. I would first direct my course towards Bedgelert, passing by the beautiful lake called Llyn Cywellyn, and under the foot of Snowdon. To the westward of this lake are two other pools called Llyn-niau Nantlle, from which Wilson made a fine picture of Snowdon, and Woollett as fine an engraving. Those who wish to ascend Snowdon, will find a guide resident in a cottage near Llyn Cywellyn. A little further, on the right hand of the road, is a small lake called *Llyn y dywarchen*, or the lake of the sod, where a floating island, similar to the one described by Giraldus, still retains its miraculous appearance.

From the beautifully retired village of Bedgelert, I would visit the prophetic hill of Dinas Emrys [II. 125], and passing near the fine lakes of Llyn y Dinas and Gwynedd, pursue the Alpine road to Capel Cerrig; from whence the highest point of Snowdon appears very conspicuous, and to greater advantage than from any other spot. From Capel Cerrig, I would return to Caernarvon by Lanberris lakes, and Dolbadern castle; and I am sure every tourist will pardon me for having recommended so long and arduous a digression; for by encircling Snowdon, he will have had an opportunity of examining its sublime and majestic features in the most advantageous point of view.

Leaving Caernarvon, an excursion must be made by water to Plâs Newydd in Anglesey, the seat of Lord Uxbridge, not forgetting to see the very fine Cromlech in his park. The aquatic expedition may be continued to Bangor ferry; from whence a second visit must be paid to the isle of Mona; for the town of Beaumaris

with its spacious castle [II. 115], and the beautiful grounds of Lord Bulkeley at Baron Hill, deserve our notice ; as from these environs you see the whole range of the Snowdon mountains in the most favourable point of view, and can judge of the relative height they bear to each other.

From Beaumaris, a visit may be made to Amlwch, from which place the Paris Mountain may be conveniently viewed ; an object which will prove highly satisfactory to the mineralogist, and the lover of picturesque scenery. Much remains to be investigated within the island of Anglesey ; particularly as to the Druidical remains, with which it abounds.

We must now return to the town of Bangor [II. 95], from whence another long digression is necessary, to the Slate quarries and Llyn Ogwen. It might perhaps be advisable to continue the ride to Capel Cerrig, and from thence by Dolwyddelan castle into the vale of the Conwy by Bettws, where there are some ancient tombs in the parish church. Following the vale and river, we shall approach the beautiful village of Llanrwst, under the towering and luxuriant woods of Gwedir.^g

The bridge^h at Llanrwst, and the monuments and brasses in its church, must be attended to ; and if time permit, it may be worth while to ride a few miles on the London road, in order to look down on the fine view which the rich vale of Conwy presents.

^g Gwedir was the ancient seat of the Wynne family, which now by marriage has become the property of Sir Peter Burrell, who has the title of Gwedir conferred upon him.

^h This bridge, which has generally claimed Inigo Jones for its architect, is so peculiarly constructed as to shake, whenever a person pushes his back against the centre stone.



Wm. Byrne sculp.

Str. Rusa 1/2 View dal'

In our way to Conwy we shall pass close to the Roman station of *Conovium* at *Caer Hên*. Though there is a mountain road leading from hence to Aber, that would bring us back into the track of our crusaders, and conduct us to Conwy over the terrific pass of *Pen-maen-mawr*, it would perhaps be more advisable to pursue the direct road from *Caer Hên* to Conwy, and to make a separate excursion from that place to *Pen-maen-mawr*.

Conwy, though avoided by Baldwin, must not remain unnoticed by us; its strongly embattled town and castle recall to our memory the warlike days of our royal Edward: and the natural scenery that surrounds them, so beautifully combined with the noblest castle of the Principality, form a *tout ensemble* not to be surpassed.

The present castle and town, of which so many grand remains are still existing, owe their construction to King Edward the First, who in the year 1284 erected this stately edifice; and about the same time marked out the limits of the adjoining town, and surrounded it with a strong inclosure of stone walls. There was probably a British fortress near the same spot, for the Welsh histories mention a castle in *Snowdon*. Leland says, that in the year 1284, the abbey of *Aberconwy* was removed to another place, and a strong fortress erected on its site, in order to restrain the hostile irruptions of the Welsh.

In describing Conwy, Mr. Pennant very justly observes, "that a more ragged town within, or a more beautiful one without, is scarcely to be seen." To say merely that Conwy Castle is a majestic pile of building, boldly situated on a rock, and washed by a noble river, would be giving but a faint and inadequate description of the place; it presents so many concomitant beauties, that the artist's

best effort will be required to delineate them. The town is built within the precincts of the ancient walls, which remain in a good state of preservation with their original gate-ways, fortified at intervals by round towers. On the northern side of the castle an extensive range of eight of them appears to great advantage. I have seen no town where the military works of art are so happily blended with the picturesque features of nature; and no spot which the artist will at first sight view with greater rapture, or quit with greater reluctance.

The promontory of Llandidno, with the old mansions of the Mostyn family at Gloddaeth and Bodscallan should not be overlooked.

The crusaders crossed the river Conwy under the ancient fortress of Deganwy [II. 137], and proceeded on their journey towards Ruthlan and Saint Asaph, of which places a particular account has been given in my Itinerary [II. 141 and 144]. From St. Asaph a pleasing excursion may be made up the vale of Clwyd to Denbigh and Ruthyn, each of which towns have the remains of castles. The former, distinguished for its elevated and commanding situation, bore in ancient times the British name of *Castell Kledvryn yn Rhós*, or the craggy hill in Rhos. The modern name of Denbech signifies a small hill, which it is, when compared to the neighbouring mountains. After the subjugation of Wales by King Edward, the lordship of Denbigh was bestowed upon Henry Lacy Earl of Lincoln, who built the castle and the town walls. On the death of Lacy it passed to Thomas Earl of Lancaster by virtue of his marriage with Alicia, daughter of the last possessor. In consequence of his attainder, Edward II. bestowed it on Hugh d'Espencer,

after whose fatal death it reverted to the crown, and was given by Edward III. to another favourite equally unfortunate, Roger Mortimer Earl of March, whose death enabled the king to invest William Montacute Earl of Salisbury with this lordship. He died A. D. 1333, and on the reversal of the attainder of the Earl of March, it was restored to his family; and by a marriage of a female relation with Richard Plantagenet Earl of Cambridge, it came into the house of York, and devolved to the crown. Queen Elizabeth in 1563 bestowed it on Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, who soon made the country feel the weight of his oppression. Pennant, Vol. II. p. 38.

The Welsh name of Ruthyn is Castell Coch yn Gwernvor. King Edward the First built the castle whose ruins we now survey, and bestowed it in 1281, with the cantref of Dyffryn Clwyd, on Reginald de Grey, for which he in 1301 did homage at Chester to Edward of Caernarvon, then Prince of Wales. Pennant, Vol. II. p. 60.

Our next station will be Holywell, where having offered our devotions to the Saint of the well, who still seems to retain her miraculous powers,ⁱ we may examine the ruins of the cell of Basinwerk [II. 153], and the termination of Wat's Dyke.

ⁱ The history of St. Winefrede is given at large by Mr. Pennant, Vol. II. p. 30.—A pamphlet has lately appeared, entitled “Authentic documents relative to the miraculous cure of Winefred White, of the town of Wolverhampton, at Holywell in Flintshire, on the 28th of June, 1805; with observations thereon by I. M. &c.,” in which numerous testimonies are given by medical and other eye witnesses of the most astonishing cures effected by *once* bathing in the Saint's well.” Of these I shall select only one as a specimen: “I hereby declare, that about three months ago I saw a young woman, calling herself Winefred White, walking with great difficulty on a crutch; and that, on the following morning, the said Winefred White came to me

As the two dykes of Offa and Wat have been frequently confounded and mistaken for each other, I shall take this opportunity of collecting the information of various authors upon the subject ; amongst whom Mr. Pennant stands foremost in the list of those who have examined the course of these two curious fragments of antiquity.

Offa's Dyke—The Welsh Chronicle informs us, that in the year 763, Offa was made King of Mercia ;^k that in 776, the men of South Wales destroyed a great part of Mercia with fire and sword, and that in the following summer the Welshmen gathered themselves together, and, entering the kingdom of Mercia, did much hurt there. The Saxons also, who dwelt on the borders of Cambria, incroached so much upon the territories of the Welsh beyond the Severn, that

running and without any appearance of lameness, having, as she told me, been immediately cured after *once* bathing in St. Winefrid's well. Signed, Eliz. Jones. Dated Holywell, Sept. 30, 1805."

The author of the pamphlet makes the following remark on the various testimonies he had received in corroboration of the miracle : "The witnesses speak of facts, which, however contrary to the established laws of nature, were such as they were competent to judge of, being such as fell immediately under the cognizance of their senses. They saw a person distorted from a curvated spine, and half dead from a paralytic side, crawling on a crutch, with every symptom of a most excruciating and desperate malady ; and they saw this same person standing erect, walking and running vigourously and nimbly, with all the demonstrations of perfect health, within a short space of time, that is to say, some of them within the course of a month, some within the space of a day, some of two or three hours, and some of as many minutes."

A miracle worthy of the pen of my friend Giraldus !

* Offa succeeded on the death of Ethelbald to the sovereignty of the kingdom of Mercia, which was esteemed the largest of the Saxon divisions, and, according to Camden, contained the counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Warwick, Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Stafford, Derby, Salop, and Chester.

they had gotten much of it into their hands, especially toward the southern part of the country. Wherefore the Welsh put themselves in armour, and set upon the Saxons, and drove them across the Severn, returning home with great plunder; and this they did oftentimes, killing and destroying all before them, and always bringing home with them much cattle; upon which Offa concluded a peace with the other Saxon kings, that he might employ his whole force against the Welsh. Whereupon he caused a great ditch to be made, large and deep, from sea to sea, betwixt his kingdom and Wales, whereby he might better defend his country from the incursions of the Welshmen. Mr. Pennant has given the following detailed account of its course, Vol. I. p. 273. "Offa's dyke extended from the river Wye, along the counties of Hereford and Radnor,¹ into that of Montgomery, where I shall take it up at its entrance into North Wales at Pwll y Piod, an alehouse on the road between Bishop's castle and Newtown; from thence it passes northward near Mellington hall, near which is an encampment called Caer-din, by Brompton mill, where there is a mount; Lymore

¹ It is much to be regretted, that the southerly course of this celebrated dyke should be so little known. At Knighton in Radnorshire it is not only ascertained by the British name of Tref y clawd, or the township upon the ditch, but also by evident remains of the dyke itself. I have been told, that it is again visible at Almeley in Herefordshire, and that the road leading from Hereford to Hay traverses it near Bridge Sollers. The general idea of the old writers is, that it went from the sea-coast of Flintshire to the mouth of the Wye on the Bristol channel; and some modern writers have erroneously supposed, that some earthen works near Tiddenham formed a part of the dyke; but as no positive traces of it have been ascertained south of Hereford, it is possible that, as at Buttington in Montgomeryshire, the river Severn was taken as its boundary, so the river Wye might have served the same purpose in Herefordshire and Monmouthshire.

park near Montgomery, Forden heath, Nant cribba at the foot of an ancient fortress, Layton hall and Buttington church. There it is lost for five miles; the channel of the Severn serving probably for that space, as a continuation of this famous boundary, which, just below the conflux of the Bele and the Severn, appears again, and passes by the churches of Llandysilio and Llanymynech to the edge of a vast precipitous limestone rock in the last parish: from this place it runs by Tref y Clawdd, or the township on the ditch, over the horse course on Cefn y Bwch above Oswestry, then above Sellatyn, from whence it descends to the river Ceiriog, and thence to Glyn, where there is a large breach, supposed to be the place where the English who fell in the battle of Crogen, were interred.^m It then passes by Chirk castle, and below Cefn y Wern, crosses the Dee, and the Rhiwabon road near Plás Madoc, forming part of the turnpike road to Wrexham. It then proceeds to Pentre Bychan, where there is a mount; from thence by Plás Bower to Adwy'r Clawdd near Minera; passing by Brumbo, it crosses Cegidog river, and through a little valley on the south side of Bryn Yorkyn mountain to Coed Talwrn and Cae-dwn,ⁿ a farm near Treyddin chapel

^m Chirk castle occupies the site of Castell Crogen, near which the bloody battle in 1165 was fought between King Henry the Second and the Welsh, and which proved so disastrous to the English monarch. Mr. Pennant says, that the place is still called Adwyr Beddau, or the pass of the graves of the men, who were slain there. An account of this battle is given in Vol. II. p. 162.

ⁿ Cae-dwn, if written Cae-twn, would signify the field with a fracture, or broken surface, than which nothing can be more expressive of the ending of this famous work, which terminates in a flat cultivated country on the farm of Cae-dwn, or twn, near Treyddin chapel. As the termination is remote from any hill or place of strength, it is reasonable to imagine that this mighty attempt was here suddenly interrupted by some cause, of which we must ever remain ignorant. Neither does any cause appear

in the parish of Mold, pointing towards the Clwydian hills, beyond which no traces of it can be discovered. It is observable, that in all parts the ditch is on the Welsh side, and that there are numbers of artificial mounts, the sites of small forts in many places along its course.

To the indefatigable and intelligent tourist, Mr. Pennant, we are likewise indebted for a detailed account of Wat's dyke, which he says cannot be discovered to the south beyond Maesbury mill in the parish of Oswestry, where it is lost in morassy ground : from thence it takes a northerly direction to Hen-dinas and Pentre'r Clawdd, to Gobowen, the site of a small fort called Bryn y Castell in the parish of Whittington ; it then crosses Prys Henlle common in the parish of Saint Martin, goes over the river Ceiriog between Brynkinallt and Pont y Blew forge, and the river Dee below Nant y Bela ; from whence it passes through Wynnstay park by another Pentre'r Clawdd, or township on the ditch, to Erddig, the seat of Philip Yorke, Esq. where there was another strong fort on its line. From Erddig it pursues its course above Wrexham, near Melin Puleston, by Dolydd, Maesgwyn, Rhos-ddu, Croes-oneiras, and Mr. Shakerly's Gwersyllt ; crosses the river Alun, and through the township of Llai to Rhydin, in the county of Flint ; above which is Caerlestyn,

why its course was not continued from sea to sea, unless Offa imagined that the Clwydian hills, and the deep valley that lies on this side of their base, would serve as a continuance of his prohibitory line. The weakness, however, of this great work appeared on the death of Offa ; the Welsh, with irresistible fury, despised his toils, and carried their ravages far and wide into the English marches. Sanguinary laws were made by the victorious Harold against those who should transgress the limits prescribed by Offa, and the Welshman who should be found in arms on the Saxon side of the ditch, was doomed to lose his right hand.

a British post: from hence it runs by Hope church, along the side of Molesdale, which it quits towards the lower part, and turns to Mynydd Sychdyn, Monachlog near Northop by Northop mills, Bryn moel, Coed y Llys, Nant y Flint, Cefn y Coed, through the Strand fields near Holywell, to its termination below the abbey of Basinwerk.

Of the construction of this dyke we have no historical information. There is an extensive ditch in Wiltshire called Wans dyke, which resembles somewhat in name the one we have just described: and derived its title most probably from the word *gwahan*, separation. As the dykes of Offa and Wats attend each other in the same direction for many miles,* and as tradition informs us, that the one made by Offa extended from sea to sea; the confusion between the two is very natural. It is evident, however, that the poet Churchyard was acquainted with them both, for in his Worthiness of Wales, he thus mentions them:

“ Within two myles, there is a famous thing,
Cal'de Offae's dyke, that reacheth farre in length,
All kind of ware the Danes might thether bring,
It was free ground, and cal'de the Britaine's strength.
Wat's dyke likewise, about the same was set,
Betweene which two, both Danes and Britaine's met,
And trafficke still, but passing bounds by sleight,
The one did take the other pris'ner streight.”

* These two ditches run nearly parallel to each other at unequal distances from Oswestry to Hope; and the nearest point of union seems to be at Ruabon.

I am at loss to know the exact line of road which the crusaders pursued from Basinwerk to Chester; but most probably it was through Flint, Northop, Ewloe, and Hawarden, at each of which places there are some remains of antiquity.^p

In my notes on the twelfth chapter of the second book of the Itinerary, I have given my reasons for supposing that the next station of the crusaders was at Whitchurch [II. 175], from whence they proceeded to Oswestry, Shrewsbury, Wenloch, Brumfeld, Ludlow, Leominster, and Hereford.^q

From Shrewsbury a pleasant excursion might be made to the beautiful seat of Sir Richard Hill at Hawkstone, where there is a fine Roman camp. The ruins of Wenloch abbey afford many good subjects for the pencil; and the lover of the picturesque should take a ride from Ludlow to Downton castle, the seat of Mr. Knight, whose varied grounds present many interesting points of view, and much fine and unadorned natural scenery.

From Hereford, the tourist may pursue his journey either by land or water to Ross, a town most delightfully situated on the

^p At Flint, there are the ruins of a large square castle, placed in a flat and watery situation. In this fortress our English monarch Richard the Second was confined, and afterwards deposed in the year 1399. At Northop, there is a very handsome Gothic church, with some ancient tombs. The ruins of Eulo castle are situated on the edge of a deep wooded dingle. The towers are finely overgrown with ivy, and command the view of three wooded glens, deep and darksome, forming a most gloomy solitude. Pennant, Vol. II. p. 88. The ruins of Hawarden castle, form a picturesque object, soaring above the woods; its ancient name was Pennard halawg, perhaps corrupted from Pen y Uwch or the head land above the lake. Its modern name is Saxon. Mr. Pennant, from whom I have quoted the above passage, has given in his Tour, Vol. II. p. 92, an account of its history and several proprietors.

^q An account of each of these places has been given in my notes on the second book of the Itinerary at pages 177, 188, 193, 194, and 201.

river Wye; whose parish church contains some costly and well executed monuments. The Roman station of *Ariconium*, is at the village of Bolitree near Ross. From hence he must hire a boat to go down the Wye, visiting the castles of Wilton and Goodrich the first day, and sleeping at Monmouth: on the next day, he will view Tintern abbey, which far exceeds (as to the first coup d'œil) every ruin I have seen, either in England or Wales; and will conclude this charming aquatic expedition under the majestic rocks and proud towers of Chepstow castle.

I have endeavoured, in this sketch, to give a summary description of every object worthy of the traveller's attention in Wales, and which, without any very long or inconvenient digression, might be attended to during the progress of his tour; but I am still aware, that some of the most beautiful parts of Wales have been neglected; amongst which is the vale of the Dee from Bala to Corwen, Llangollen, and Bangor, which for a long and varied succession of fine natural scenery stands unrivalled in North Wales. Many interesting objects occur on this line of country. The abbey of Llan-Egwest, or Vale Crucis; and the stately castle of Dinas Bran near Llangollen; the two fine aqueducts in the vales of Dee and Ceiriog; the castle at Chirk; the grounds at Wynnstay; and the churches at Chirk, Ruabon, and Wrexham, all of which contain monuments worthy of notice.

There are also parts of Montgomeryshire and Shropshire, which have their beauties, and might be included within the limits of a tour through Wales. The vallies of the Vernwy, Tanad, and Severn afford many pleasing points of view, and some interesting antiquities; but Powys castle stands pre-eminent in this part of the country,



Wm Byrne del.

See Plate 4 of "The Tower of London"

for its fine situation, and commanding terrace. It is one of those buildings, whose character requires the adoption of Italian architecture, and the old fashioned style of garden: its terraces should be preserved, its balustrades decorated with statues and vases, interwoven with creeping plants and evergreens; in short, it should be made a *Villa d'Este* in miniature.

Tours are taken for the double purposes of amusement and information; and the objects that most generally command our attention in travelling through a country, are the natural scenery and antiquities; the former needs no comment, for its degree of beauty and attraction will be regulated and felt by the eye that views it; but on examining the ruins of a mouldering abbey or castle, the inquisitive mind is desirous of knowing the æra of their construction and demolition, the several vicissitudes of fortune they have experienced, and each historical anecdote attached to them. I have endeavoured therefore to elucidate by extracts from ancient authors, and chiefly from the Welsh Chronicle, their various histories. Something more, however, must be said towards distinguishing the peculiar character of the Welsh castles.

These may be divided into three classes; the original British, situated on high and almost inaccessible mountains, such as Carn Madryn near Nevyn [II. 88], and Corndochon near Bala, in North Wales; and Crûg Howel above the village of Crickhowel in South Wales, with numerous others dispersed about the hills in each principality, bearing the same characteristic features of rude and remote antiquity. The vulgar name of *Cottiau Gwyddelod*, or huts of the wild men, attributed to them by the natives, arose probably from their mode of construction; being excavations made in

the ground and rock, and surrounded by an inclosure of loose stones.

Under the next head I shall place those that were constructed with stone, and cemented with mortar, and placed on less eminent situations. These are very similar in their plans, having generally an outwork, and an artificial mound of earth as a citadel: instances of these are seen at Pencadair and Lanpeder in South Wales. These appear to me to be the castles recorded in the Welsh Chronicle, as having been so frequently destroyed, and so frequently rebuilt; and I am inclined to think that they were chiefly constructed with wood, otherwise they never could have been restored and refortified in the very short time specified in the Welsh annals.

After the subjugation of Glamorganshire by the Normans, and the settlement of the Flemings in the Principality; a new and far more sumptuous mode of building was introduced; of which we see many fine examples in the castles of Cardiff, Kidwelly, Pembroke, Cilgarran, &c. &c. The contrast between the second and third classes may be seen at Hay, where the tumulus and site of the Welsh castle, and the ruins of the subsequent Norman fortress are still visible.

A great improvement was afterwards made in military architecture by King Edward the First, who at the same time that he shewed his good policy in erecting the stately castles of Conwy, Caernarvon, and Harlech, as bulwarks against the Welsh, displayed his good taste and knowledge in military architecture. The picturesque superiority of these buildings is owing to the introduction of small turrets arising from the larger, by which the heavy castellated mass of masonry receives great additional lightness

and elegance. Such are the peculiarities that have struck me in viewing the different castles in North and South Wales; but the observation of the antiquarian should not be confined to them alone; the Roman stations should be examined, and the Roman roads explored; and those, who wish to search more deeply into the records of British antiquity should pay particular attention to the Druidical remains with which Cambria abounds. In these the island of Anglesey and the coast extending from Cardigan to St. David's is the most fertile, but many mountains have their circles of stones, and their Maen Arthur.

Those who in former times have travelled through Wales, will view with no inconsiderable degree of satisfaction the rapid improvements that have taken place. Till within these few years the southern part of Wales had a decided superiority, in point of good roads and other necessary accommodations,^r so requisite for the comfort of the traveller; but of late the appearance of the northern provinces has been totally changed; large tracts of land have been rescued by embankments from the ravages of the sea:^s new inns have been built;^t and new roads of communication have been cut through

^r It is rather singular, and unfortunate for the traveller, that the *worst* inn in South Wales should be situated in that very part of it, where nature has been the most prolific in her beauties, in the midst of wealth and population, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Newton Park and Golden Grove. I here allude to the inn at Llandilo.

^s The greatest improvements, I have witnessed in this way, have been made by Mr. Oakeley at his beautiful retirement in the vale of Festiniog, and by Mr. Madox on the Traeth Mawr.

^t Since I first visited North Wales a magnificent hotel has been built at Caernarvon, and good inns at Bedgelert, Capel Cerrig, and Tan y bwch: I wish I could add Dolgelley to this list, which, like Llandilo in South Wales, has the worst quarters in the finest situation.

the most mountainous and apparently impracticable districts."^u And here let me pay a just and grateful tribute to the laudable zeal and disinterested exertions of an English nobleman (Lord Penrhyn), who has devoted the profits of a large estate to the public good; who, at his own expense, has formed an extensive tract of excellent road, has established a sea port, and introduced into the very bowels of the mountains an industrious and numerous population.^x But the most important improvement of the country has been totally overlooked, namely *planting*; it is lamentable to see such immense tracks of barren waste devoted to the pasture of a few miserable beasts and sheep, which *might* and *ought* to be covered with extensive woods and plantations; and it is still more truly lamentable to see the native woods not only diminish daily by the axe, but from the want of the necessary precaution of subsequent fences, left unprotected against the infectious bite of cattle. In a

^u In no one line has improvement taken such rapid strides as in the public roads, particularly in the county of Caernarvon. The road from Tan y bwch to Bedgelert and Caernarvon is now made perfectly passable for carriages, and the Snowdonian mountains are in a great measure avoided. A new road is making from Bedgelert, by the beautiful lakes of Dinas and Gwynedd, to Capel Cerrig: another of great importance is far advanced, by which the dangerous passage of the Traeth Mawr will be avoided, and an easy communication opened with the promontory of Lleyn, where there is a most advantageous harbour at Port dyn lleyn, and from whence there might be a most easy communication with Ireland. By the exertions of Lord Penrhyn, a short cut has been made from the old Irish road to Bangor, by which Llanrwst and Conwy are avoided, and the journey much shortened; but the artist and lover of fine scenery must not abandon the old beaten track. Many other improvements are still in agitation: a bridge over the Menai near Bangor has been proposed, but has met with strong opposition from clashing interests.

^x I allude to the numerous buildings which Lord Penrhyn has made in the neighbourhood of his residence, and the population he has introduced amongst the mountains, where his extensive slate quarries are situated.

very few years many estates will not furnish even an oak for a gatepost. The first step towards this very essential improvement is a change in the breed of sheep; these mountain animals should be tamed by a cross with the South Down, or some other more domestic breed,[†] for such is the nature and agility of the sheep that generally feed upon the mountains both in North and South Wales, that no fences, however strong, can retain them within proper bounds: all experiments in planting would therefore be fruitless, unless the inclosures could be well protected against the *bite* of these animals. In South Wales they are equally hostile to agriculture, and totally prevent the cultivation of that most valuable plant the turnip, to which large districts, (particularly in the vale of Usk in Brecknockshire,) are peculiarly adapted. By a change in the breed of sheep, or by a cross between the native Welsh and the South Down, the greatest advantages would result to the country: turnips could be grown securely, the arable lands would be folded, and the soil rendered doubly fertile and productive.

TO LANDSCAPE PAINTERS.—Few countries possess such an assemblage of local beauties, and at the same time so many suitable conveniences to the artist and draughtsman. Before the fashionable world quits the busy streets of the metropolis, he will find that hearty welcome, and cheap accommodation at every Welsh inn, which, at a more advanced season of the year, will be denied him. The spring therefore should be *his* season for travel and improve-

[†] A friend of mine has made this experiment in Radnorshire with success; the sheep becoming larger and tamer, the wool better, and the animal in every respect more valuable.

ment; but let him not rest satisfied with the hasty sketches and remarks of a pedestrian traveller; let him fix his station at those places, where nature affords in the greatest variety and abundance those subjects which are the peculiar object of his studies; and there let him study her beauties *in detail*. By *detail*, I mean, in all those parts, which, when united, will form a perfect *whole* or picture. Let him make separate sketches of rocks, stones, trees, and even weeds; in short, of all the component parts of landscape. Young painters are too apt to aim at the *whole*, before they are sufficiently acquainted with the *parts*. There is a *grammar* in landscape, as well as in language; and it is as necessary to be well grounded in the *grammar* of weeds, rocks, and trees, in order to become a good painter; as in the *grammar* of nouns, pronouns, and verbs, to become a good scholar.

For subjects of rich and varied scenery, the artist must resort to the numerous fine vallies with which both North and South Wales abound. Those of the Wye, Usk, Taf, Towy, and Teivi in South Wales have been the most admired for their local beauties; and to the vale of Towy the pre-eminence has in general been given; but in my opinion, it has a most powerful rival in the vale of Usk, which, for *extent* of fine scenery certainly surpasses it; and its views near Crickhowel may vie with those on the Towy near Llandilo. The vale of the river Dovy, which forms a boundary between the provinces of North and South Wales, has also its beauties about Machynlleth, &c. &c.

The vales of the Dee, the Conwy, and the Clwyd are the most celebrated in North Wales for their fine scenery; the views on the Dee near Langollen cannot be surpassed. The Conwy in its course

from the mountains to Llanrwst, affords many picturesque subjects for the pencil, in its bridges and waterfalls; and in its progress towards Conwy, assumes a grander character by becoming a tide river. The upper part of the vale of Clwyd is the most adapted to the painter's scale; but upon the whole, this valley is too extensive and wide for the canvas; and more to be admired for its rich appearance and fertility, than for its picturesque features.

Though *last*, yet not *least in beauty*, let me not forget the delightful little Vale of Festiniog; which in every sense most fully answers the name, and contains every beauty which we can expect to find in a *valley*; fine woods, majestic mountains, picturesque bridges, rapid streams, and scenery on a scale not too extensive either for the eye or the pencil. Lord Lyttelton, speaking of the Vale of Festiniog, says, "It was the most perfectly beautiful of any he had seen. From the height of the village you have a view of the sea. The hills are green and well shaded with wood. There is a lovely rivulet which winds through the bottom; on each side are meadows, and above are corn-fields along the sides of the hills: at each end are high mountains, which seem placed there to guard this charming retreat against any invaders. With the woman one loves, with the friend of one's heart, and a good study of books, one might pass an age here, and think it a day."

Yet many rivers of smaller note, and even many contributory streams possess beauties which have never been discovered, but by the fisherman; who, in the pursuit of the trout or salmon, has been tempted to follow their meandering courses. These should be more peculiarly the object of *young* artists, as affording the simple subjects of rock, wood, and water, best suited to their studies.

The counties of Merioneth and Caernarvon will afford the finest examples of grand mountain scenery: and no better stations can be fixed upon than Tan y bwlch, Bedgelert, Capel Cerrig, and Dolgelley: at each of which the artist will find good accommodations.

The broken shores of the Traeth Mawr and Bychan, and the æstuary of the river Maw, from Laneltid bridge (near Dolgelley) to Barmouth, present the finest outline imaginable of rocks, wood, and water: but those who wish to study the grand masses of *rock in detail*, must visit the sea-coast of Pembrokeshire, and pay their devotions at the well of Saint Gowan.

The lovers of monastic and military architecture will find ample employment for their pencil in the abbies of Tintern, Lanthoni, Margan, Neth, Vale Crucis, Wenloch, &c. &c. &c.; in the cathedral churches of Llandaff and Saint David's; and in the castles of Goodrich, Chepstow, Ragland, Cardiff, Kidwelly, Pembroke, Manorbier, Newport, Cilgarran, Harlech, Caernarvon, and Conwy.

To ARCHITECTS.—I now address myself to another class of artists, namely, those who study architecture as a profession. *Their* grammar is indeed easy, when compared to that of the historical or landscape painter. Easy, however, as it may appear, if properly studied, yet in the present age its principles and character have not been duly attended to; if I may be allowed to form my judgment from the *modern* performances of those men who are deemed the most able in their profession. A living author,* speaking of this class of artists, very justly observes, “ *The cloven foot will*

* Whitaker's History of Craven. London, 1805.

appear, for modern architects have an incurable propensity to mix their own absurd and unauthorised fancies with the genuine models of antiquity. They want alike taste to invent, and modesty to copy." When a young architect has learned *grammatically* the technical rules of his profession, let him make the tour of England, and, like a bee, collect his stores of knowledge and information from the numerous fine examples of pure and uncontaminated architecture that are dispersed over the whole kingdom. With a discerning eye he will soon learn to distinguish the particular ornaments and decorations that characterized each different æra of *British* architecture; he will trace not only with pleasure, but with *certainty*, the progress from the *Roman*, to the *Saxon* and *Norman*; and from them to what has been vulgarly but improperly called *Gothic*: he will then perceive how from the chaste and simple designs of King Henry the Third at Salisbury, this style became more decorated; how in the reign of King Edward the Third it attained its highest state of perfection, and how from that period the pointed arch began to droop in height, and the decorations assumed a new feature: he will afterwards trace the introduction of the Italian style both in ecclesiastical as well as sepulchral architecture:^a and with these just ideas of discrimination in his *head*, and the sketches he has collected, in his *portfolio*, he will have too much good sense to *recommend*, and too much good taste to *execute* such horrid innovations and incongruities in architecture, as we are doomed daily to behold, both in the public and private buildings of our island.

^a By *ecclesiastical* and *sepulchral*, I mean the architecture of churches and of tombs, which the attentive observer will find keeping the same track and the same pace, and maintaining and losing the same beauties throughout each distinct period.

At a period like the present, when the prevailing taste of the times leads our affluent countrymen, and even our Monarch, to revive the pointed style of architecture,^b it is particularly desirable that it should be conducted on the principles of correctness; and that each individual ornament, and even moulding, should correspond exactly with the date of the building. An architect who *knows* not these peculiarities, may be deemed *ignorant* of his profession, and should return to school for a better education; and the architect, who *knowing* the distinctive characters of the *pure pointed style* does not adopt them, demonstrates an evident want of *taste* in the principles of his profession.

That the rise and progress of our national architecture may be more distinctly marked and known, I shall endeavour, by the means of examples that have occurred during my Itinerary through South Wales, to follow its course: tracing its varieties, and demonstrating the gradual advancement it made towards perfection, and proving that *system*, not *chance*, directed the hands of our ancient workmen.

^b At Windsor Castle and Richmond.

PROGRESS OF ARCHITECTURE

FROM A PERIOD NEARLY COEVAL WITH THE CONQUEROR, TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF DESIGNS TAKEN FROM EXISTING REMAINS IN SOUTH WALES, AND ARRANGED SYSTEMATICALLY.

FROM the affinity of England to Wales, architecture seems to have been nearly upon a level in each kingdom; for as a particular species of this art rose up with us in England, imitations were very soon introduced into the neighbouring Principality. This circumstance need not create much surprise, when we consider the near connexion that took place between the two countries, when our ancestors sojourned with the Welsh, we will not say, as absolute conquerors, but as authoritative visitors. Hence it becomes evident, how so great a similarity in architecture should prevail in both regions, though ever divided in private sentiments, if not in public professions; for in Cambria we find the same mode of design, the same degrees of fine workmanship, the same decorative display, and the same good taste. Indeed, did we not know how the hearts of each peopled land were estranged by an original and deep-rooted hatred, we might, in considering the near-joined principle of art in each country, conclude, that in the pursuit of documents to illustrate this our architectural system, we traversed one and the same land.

The earliest knowledge we have of architecture amongst us, is that kind left by our forefathers, the ancient Britons. Such works, on a general survey, appear as simple upright stones, supporting horizontal ones by way of covering, so as to keep off the effects of the elements, and for the purpose of uniting their labours in one strong and compact body. The dimensions of their piles are unlimited, their plans variable, and their elevations simple and compound, from the *Maen hirion*, or humble *Cromlech* in Wales and Cornwall, to the stupendous fabrics of Avebury and Stonehenge in Wiltshire. This latter setting up of stones is certainly on a principle of grandeur, that no time or place ever exceeded; its properties cannot be defined, and we but behold to confess this mighty truth.

Our professional observations are next directed to the skill and genius of the Romans when amongst us; who, becoming our protectors and enlighteners, as well as subduers, stored our island with edifices, rivalling even those they had left behind them; and with a lavish hand distributed, from shore to shore, their splendid gifts and sciences.

The study of Roman architecture being so generally understood, and the practice of it so widely diffused; it would be superfluous to enter into any detail of its qualities, or its merits: let us, therefore, proceed to the period of the Saxon dominion. On the arrival of these foreigners in our island, they found on all sides most excellent models of Roman architecture to guide them in the construction of those edifices, which they found it expedient to raise for their civil or religious purposes. But as the mind of man is ever prone to change, these Saxon builders soon deviated from the



A



B

10 Feet



C



D

J. Carter del.

J. Basse sculp.

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regular path which their predecessors had followed. They altered the proportions of columns, changed the character of bases, capitals, architraves, and entablatures; they introduced an entire collection of new ornaments and embellishments; yet still, upon the whole, the Roman manner predominated; indeed, their architecture may be said to have been Roman architecture in disguise. As we have no authorities that the Roman workmen adopted the figure of the cross in their plans, we must give credit to the Saxons for bringing into the arrangement of their churches, that figure which maintained its ground for so many succeeding ages. In our time, however, we have, in many instances, thought proper to discard that Christian emblem, and are reverting back to the old Roman temple, or Pagan mode of construction, not only in the plan of our churches, but in their elevations, ornaments, and attributes. The Saxons seem to have made use of little variety in their style of building, until the Normans entered Great Britain. About this period, we are able to bring forward our first example, which is taken from the parish church of Margan, Glamorganshire, and whose construction we have good reason to attribute to one of those Norman knights, who conquered that province under their chieftain, Robert Fitz-Hamon.

CLASS THE FIRST.

Plate I.—A. Part of the north side of the nave of Margan church, Glamorganshire. The principal parts are composed of piers with breaks, plinths, and an abacus, supporting arches. This work, as well as that of the windows, is very simple; the whole well proportioned, and each part appropriate to the other. A block cornice

terminates the design, which from its entire character assimilates with the Roman style. The baptismal font is likewise accordant. On viewing this specimen of ancient architecture, we are naturally struck with its very great simplicity, and astonishing resemblance to the correct proportions of Italian design.

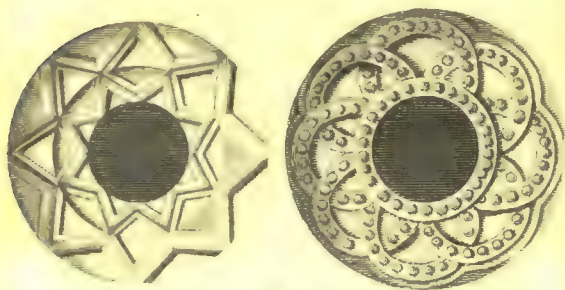
B.—Part of the north side of the nave of Ewenny church, Glamorganshire. Here all the features, the columns as well as arches, give strong indications of the Saxon manner, and in its plainest dress. The windows partake of the same character.

DECORATIONS.

C.—Door-way in the west front of Ewenny. The capitals are formed in convex divisions, and the architrave to the arch is enriched with projecting zig-zags, or diagonals; the bases are buried under ground.

D.—A door-way on the north side of the nave of Llandaff cathedral, Glamorganshire. The grounds, or walls, on each side of the columns, and on each side of the architrave of the arch, have the diagonals lying flat; but those in the architrave project. The exterior mouldings of the arch, composing a sweeping cornice, rise from grotesque heads, ornamented in the centre with the busto of a bishop. This door-way is rich and curious, and I imagine that it formed a part of the ancient church previous to its reconstruction by Bishop Urban, in the year 1120. See Itinerary, Vol. I. p. 139.

Plate II. E.—Dado to the east end of the interior of Saint David's cathedral. The upper half of the enrichment is the fret, a deci-

J. C. ~~del~~ del^oJ Basire sculp^t

Published March 1806 by William Miller, Albemarle Street, London

sive Roman ornament.^a Beneath are intersecting arches, studded with beads, which is a strong Saxon peculiarity. This curious interesting combination is most worthy of notice, not only from the conjunction of the arches, but from the important figure thereby discovered, that is the *Pointed Arch*. Though the example here delineated is not on so large a scale as I could wish, yet the incident may be as satisfactory to establish the origin of this arch, as in those examples which we find in larger ranges, on the west fronts of Malmesbury abbey in Wiltshire, and St. Botolph's church, Colchester; on the east end of Hereford cathedral; and in Wenloch abbey, &c. &c. These subjects tend to confirm and elucidate the system, which indeed now gains ground in general belief, that the *pointed arch* mode of architecture most assuredly had its first formation in our island, and from so fortunate a circumstance as this intersection of two semicircular arches.^b

F.—Circular recesses in the spandrils of the arches of the gallery in the nave of St. David's cathedral. In both these examples, which partake of the Saxon character, there is a tendency towards illustrating the origin of the *pointed arch*.

CLASS THE SECOND.

G.—Part of the south side of the body of the parish church at Manorbeer, Pembrokeshire; erected, it may be presumed, soon after

^a This ornament seems to have been a favourite for many generations and from very early times; for we see it adopted by the Etruscans and Greeks in their fine vases, afterwards by the Romans, and continued by the Saxons.

^b Much has been said and written upon the subject of the *pointed arch*; and this opinion seems now generally to prevail, viz. that its idea was first suggested by the intersection of two semicircular arches, forming the *pointed* one. It were much to be

the Conquest. In this design we see the *pointed arch* in the purest and simplest degree that can possibly be imagined. The piers are entirely plain, without breaks, and the arches have no mouldings. The ceiling takes a plain pointed sweep. As nothing can come more in aid of our subject, too much attention cannot be paid to so very simple and valuable a specimen of the principle we maintain, "*that the pointed arch had its origin on British ground.*"^c The font is completely Saxon, corroborating the remote construction of this church.

H.—Part of the north side of the nave of Saint David's cathedral, erected about the year 1180,^d Though the greater part of

wished, that the word *Gothic*, so improperly applied to the *pointed* style, could be abolished, and a new word substituted in its place; but it is as difficult to drop the use of old phrases, as to break through old customs, and I fear our *British* architecture will long remain branded with the opprobrious and unmerited term of *Gothic*.

^c Amongst the many arguments that have taken place respecting the *origin of the pointed arch*, the *pointed arches* engraven by Horsley in his *Britannia Romana*, Scotland, p. 192, No. 5, and Middlesex, p. 192, No. 75, have been brought forward as examples to prove, that *this form* was in use during the period of the *Roman* dominion in *Britain*. I have not been able to prove whether the arch of the *former* has been drawn correctly, as Horsley stated it to be at *Skirvay* in Scotland; but the *latter* is preserved in the Arundelian collection at Oxford, and has been carefully examined and drawn by Mr. Carter. The engraving, Plate III. No. 17, amongst the inscriptions in my introduction to this Itinerary, will prove decidedly that the arch was *round*, not *pointed*; and I think it probable, that the *same error* may have been committed by Horsley's draughtsman, with respect to the other arch.

^d As we are informed by the histories of Saint David's, that the old church, having been repeatedly injured by the Danes and other pirates, was pulled down and rebuilt by the bishop who presided over the see in the year 1180, we are enabled to ascertain the precise time when these architectural elevations were in use. But the buildings at Lanthoni in Monmouthshire, and Llandaff in Glamorganshire, prove that the *pointed arch* was adopted at a *much earlier* period, and had obtained a great degree of elegance and perfection as to its shape; the former was erected soon after the year 1108, and the latter in the year 1120.

this elevation is Saxon, and upon the most splendid scale; yet in the galleries the arches have *pointed* heads. From this example it is evident that the new feature, the *pointed arch*, began to assume a degree of estimation in great works; and whether placed here as a kind of trial to prove how such an object would take with the eye of the public, or whether the architect being desirous to establish it by slow degrees, was unwilling totally to set aside the old order, or the *round arch*, cannot be positively ascertained. It is sufficient for us to behold the manner in which the ancient architects proceeded in their course, which, though gradual, was sure, and at length successful in establishing the general adoption of the new or *pointed style* of architecture.

I.—Part of the north side of the choir at Saint David's. The *pointed* style has now begun its reign, although retarded in its progress towards perfection by all the minute peculiarities appertaining to its overpowered Saxon parent.^e It is a curious and fortunate circumstance for our theory, that this and the preceding elevation run in the same line of building.^f Thus we see from trifling beginnings what mighty things arise. The *smallest* arches only of the *galleries* in the nave have *pointed* heads, whilst *all* those in the *choir* are *pointed*. These are precedents highly interesting, full of consequence, and of the first authority.

^e In this design we ought to observe, that the *form* of the arch only is varied; for the ornaments and decorations that were made use of in the *Saxon* arches in the nave, are here appropriated to the *pointed* arches in the choir.

^f This expression of the same *line* of building, may perhaps be better understood by substituting the word *range* or *story*; thus we see both ranges of arches in the choir *pointed*, whilst in the elevation of the nave, the lower range is Saxon or *round*, the second *pointed*, and the third *round*.

CLASS THE THIRD.

Plate III. K.—Part of the north side of the nave of Llandaff cathedral, erected about the year 1120.^s This part of the cathedral is in ruins, and the upright walls that remain, (excepting the west front, which is nearly entire,) rise little higher than the galleries; a portion of which is seen in this plate. These remains give the *pointed* style in its pure state, after complete emancipation from the Saxon,^h and from that subsequent mode of design, wherein we see an intermixture of the *round* and the *pointed* arch. The columns, architraves, mouldings, and ornaments, are all new, and shew much beauty and symmetry, marking the æra of King Henry the First.

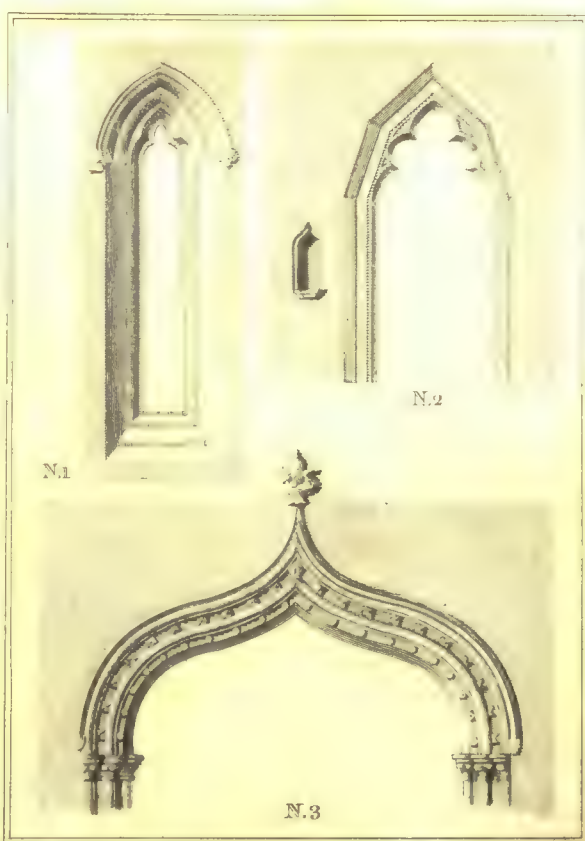
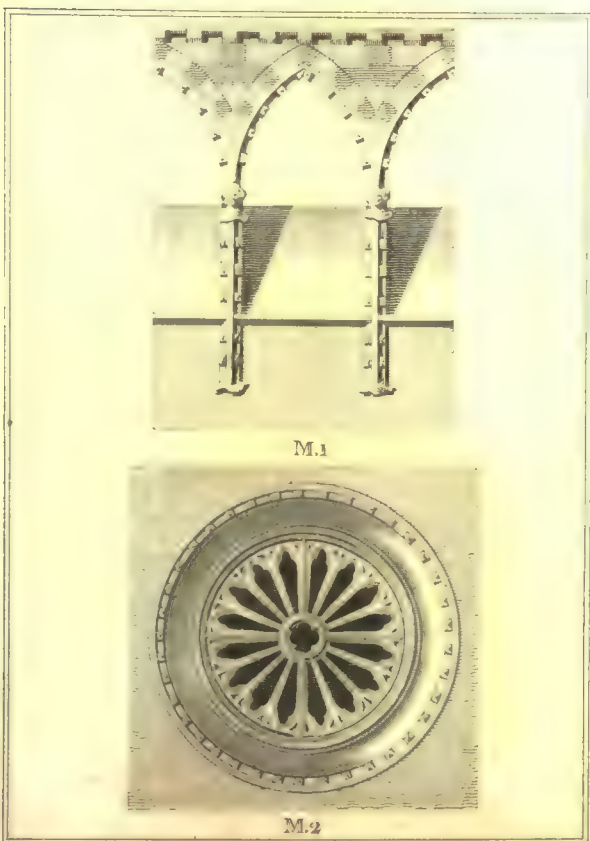
L.—Part of the north side of our Lady's chapel in Llandaff cathedral. This example may be considered as a remove from the preceding one in the nave K. in which we find the features rendered more light and elegant. The windows have mullions and tracery, simple yet delicate. In this building we also find a transition of modes in the same *line* or range, as in Saint David's, and of the most satisfactory nature; still carrying on our architectural

^s Bishop Urban, in the year 1120, pulled down the old church at Llandaff, and erected a new one; but he probably may have preserved the two fine Saxon door-cases of the original building, and appropriated them to his new edifice.

^h If the example now before us was a part of the building erected by Bishop Urban, A. D. 1120, which we have every reason to suppose was the case, and if the specimens produced from Saint David's, H. and I. Plate II. formed a part of the church built by Peter de Leia, A. D. 1180, (who pulled down the old church and rebuilt it,) we have evident proof that the *pointed* style was not at this time, according to the statement of Mr. Carter, emancipated from the *round* or Saxon style of architecture, although the example here given has no mixture of the two forms.



1 2 feet



J. Carter del.

J. Basire sculp.

1 2 feet

position, " that the *pointed Order* had no other source, than that of a *regular* and *progressive* course from one mode of design to that of another.

DECORATIONS.

M 1. An open parapet to the episcopal palace at Saint David's erected about the year 1328, by Bishop Gower, who may be said to have been the inventor of this elegant and singular decoration, by which *his* buildings at Saint David's, Lantphey Court, and Swansea are particularly distinguished.

M 2. A circular window in the episcopal palace at Saint David's. The mullion work is extremely pleasing, and seems to be an early attempt at those elaborate windows commonly termed Saint Catharine's, or Catharine-wheel windows.

N 1. Window in the chapter-house at Landaff cathedral, simple and chaste in its design.

N 2. Door-way and holy water niche near the stairs of the rood-loft at Saint David's. There is something very remarkable in the exterior lines of the head of this door-way, which seem to bear a strong tendency towards forming the outline of the *pointed arch*.

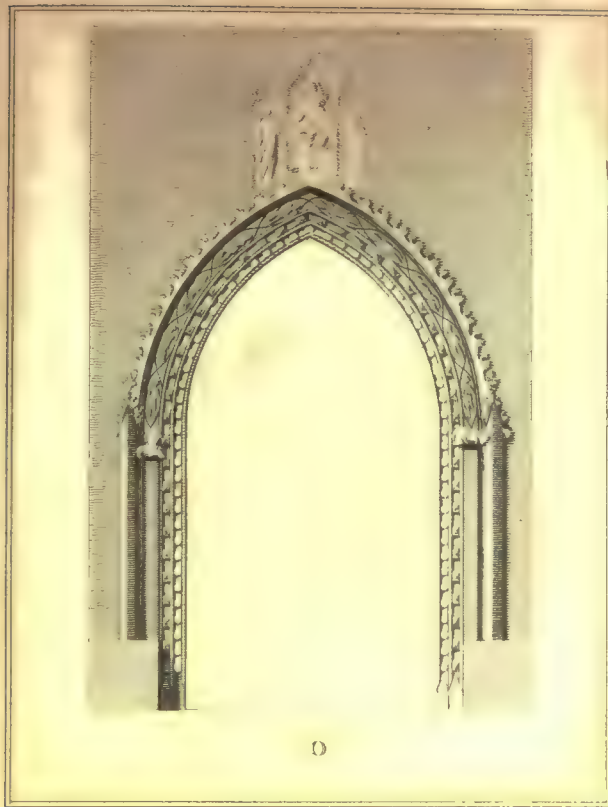
N 3. Head of a door-way in the Bishop's palace at Saint David's. The *ogee* sweep of this arch is not frequently met with, owing probably to the little interest such a figure made, when opposed to the all-perfect one of the *pointed arch*. Another reason may be given for its having been so little adopted, namely, its apparently weak and imperfect line, and its unfitness to support large weights; the nature of the sweep of this arch being to press inwards, and, of course, not much to be depended upon. Still, however, we find that this arch has endured for many ages.

Plate IV.—O. A door-way in the porch of Saint David's cathedral. This design is richer, in point of workmanship, than any of the preceding examples in this class. It has the addition of angular and square buttresses; on the latter of which there are busts that seem to support the architrave to the arch. Amongst the ornaments surrounding the span of the arch, we may see the indication of crockets; and over the head stone are some faint remains of sculptured figures within pointed niches.

CLASS THE FOURTH.

P. East end of the exterior of the chapter-house at Margan, Glamorganshire. The outward walls alone remain of this chaste and graceful building. The exquisite groins fell but of late; not from the injuries of time and decay of nature, but from total neglect and inattention. In this design, we see a new ornament introduced. The shafts of the columns are divided by bands, and this method obtained such general approbation, that two courses of bands were added to the length of a shaft, dividing it into three stories, and additional bands were added, if the columns increased in height. Of the beautiful effect produced by this variety of design, we have fine examples in the cathedral churches of Durham and Salisbury, and in Westminster abbey.

Q. East end of the interior of the chapter-house at Margan. The same charming style is still continued, but with this novelty, that the pillars supporting the groins of the roof rest upon brackets. I regret that in this instance our collection of sketches afford no document for any *decoration* of this class.



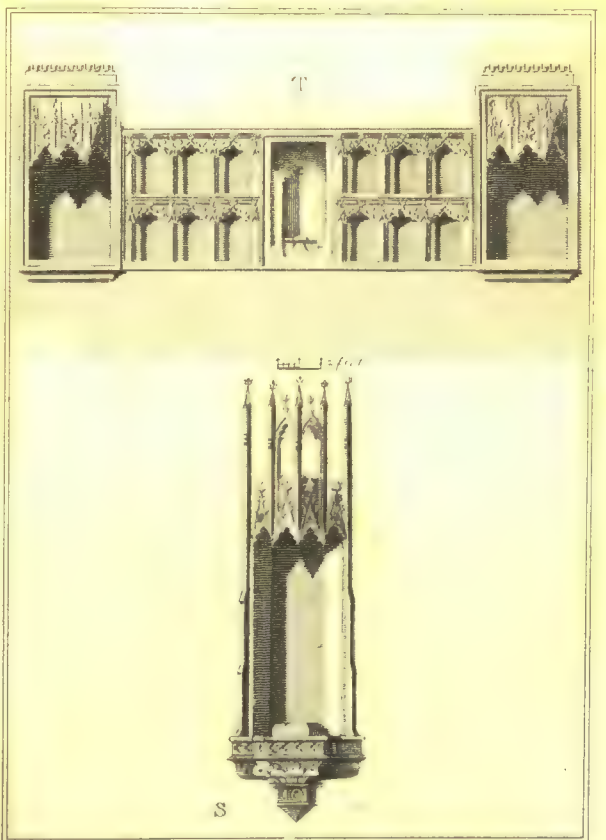
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2 feet



2 feet



2 feet

J. Carter del^y

J. Baxxer sculp^t

CLASS THE FIFTH.

A new style of architecture seems to have prevailed during the reign of King Edward the Third. The features of every kind appertaining to this class have a different character from each particular that had gone before, excepting the grand feature, the *pointed arch*. We now find buttresses, battlements, blockings, brought into use; the mouldings and ornaments were profuse, and painted and gilded in the most costly and brilliant manner. Not the smallest space was left unheeded; and such a gorgeous display did this magnificent style present, that human art seems at this period to have arrived at the height of its perfection. No one example of this nature *was* so astonishing as that of Saint Stephen's chapel, Westminster. I say *was*, because *now*, alas! these beautiful relicts of our royal Edward's days *are now no more*, and have, I am sorry to add, been most wantonly destroyed by persons whose *profession* at least, if not their *taste*, ought to have taught them to pay more reverence to the sublime productions of ancient British artists.

Our sketches contribute but one example of the splendid architecture that graced the reign of King Edward the Third, which is taken from the rood-loft in Saint David's cathedral.¹ The design of this rood-loft is one of those choice and consummate performances, which cannot by a discerning and intelligent mind be ever overlooked, or suffered to remain unprotected. In short, its excel-

¹ The construction of this beautiful rood-loft has generally been attributed to Bishop Gower, who lies interred in a costly tomb beneath it. This Bishop was elected to the see of Saint David's, A. D. 1328, and one year after the accession of King Edward the Third to the crown of England.

lences are of the first quality, and of the highest beauty. I lament, that the scale of our illustrative engravings will not allow me to go more into the detail of the decorations of this elegant and curious fabrick; and I regret that I must content myself with giving a design only of its door-way, R.

CLASS THE SIXTH.

During the successive reigns of Richard II. A. D. 1377; Henry IV. A. D. 1399; Henry V. A. D. 1413; Henry VI. A. D. 1422; Edward IV. A. D. 1461; and Edward V. A. D. 1483, there seems to have been a distinct order of design; and during this period, the *pointed arch* began to droop in its height, the enrichments to lose much of their sublimity, and decline in the redundancy of their parts; which, however, were renewed with redoubled brilliancy in the reign of King Henry VII.; still there were many beautiful particulars in action amongst the architectural works of this period; and we have again to regret, that by our sketches we can illustrate this class only by decorations.

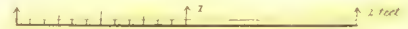
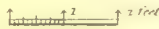
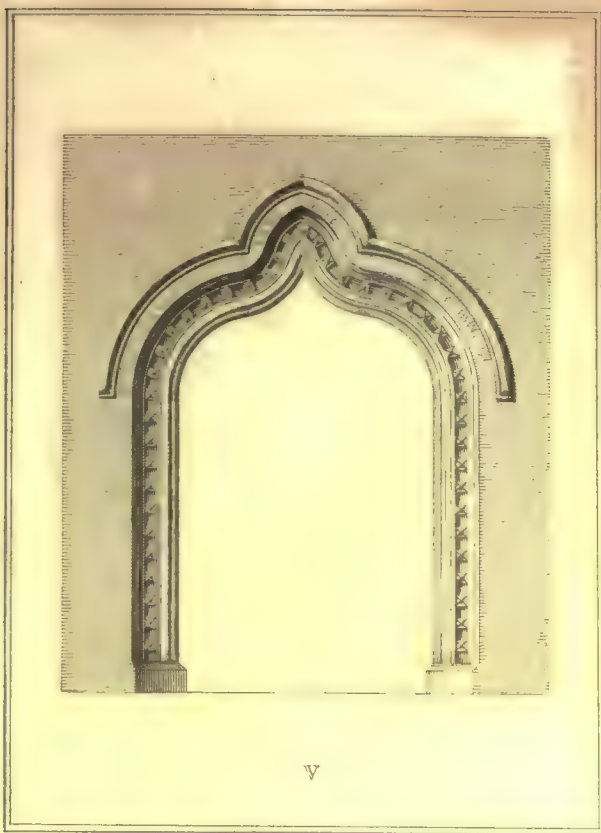
DECORATIONS.

S. Niche at the east end of the north aisle of the choir in the cathedral church at Llandaff.

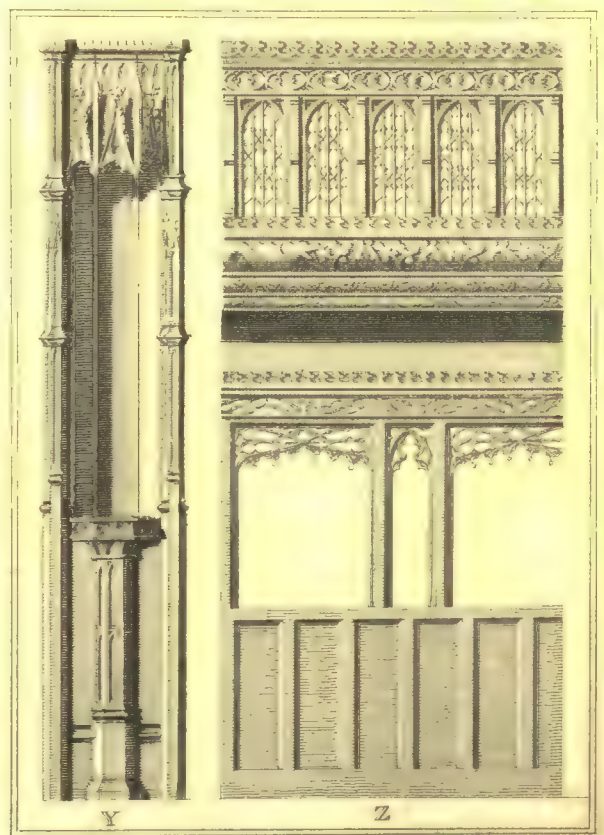
T. Altar skreen in our Lady's chapel at Llandaff.*

Plate V.—U. Western door-way to the parish church of Tenbigh, Pembrokeshire. This uncommon example cannot be passed over

* Though these two examples are not of a sufficient magnitude to shew how the *pointed arch* dropped, and by what rules the arch of this æra was formed; still they will serve to evince the character of the decorations made use of at this period.



J. Carter del.



Y

Z

J. Basire sculp.



without particular notice. The inner sweep of the arch has the *ogee* turn, while the succeeding lines by various small transitions revert into the *pointed* head. Among the flowerets in the principal sweep, is a sculpture of St. George and the Dragon (of too small a scale to be rendered intelligible in this plate). Within the outward sweep is this incscription—BENEDICTUS DOMINUS IN DONIS SUIS.

CLASS THE SEVENTH.

Our progress is now arrested at the concluding style of our ancient architecture during the reigns of the last two Henrys. The *pointed* arch sunk to a sweep so very flat, that its line was obliged to be struck from *two centres*. Yet the regular *pointed* arch was not wholly abandoned, but was introduced occasionally with the *flat* one. The sweeping moulding that had hitherto followed the line of the *pointed* arch, took a new turn; it was placed in a perpendicular and horizontal direction, and denominated a *label*. The mouldings and ornaments were peculiar to this period, and were interspersed with the arms and devices of the Tudor family, and with tracery work that was carried to an unbounded excess. The designs of this style were so endless in variety, and executed with such an astonishing degree of skill and art, that an author of the seventeenth century,¹ describing the chapel of King Henry VII. in Westminster abbey, says “ *Henry the Seventh’s chapel is the wonder of the universe, so far exceeding human ability, that it appears knit together by the fingers of angels, under the direction of Omnipotence.*”

W. Elevation of a gateway at Crickhowel, Brecknockshire. The

¹ Ward’s London Spy.

remarkable feature in this design, is the *square* label over the *pointed* heads of the windows. The door-way has the regular pointed arch.

DECORATIONS.

X. Door-way on the west side of a building adjoining the parish church at Tenbigh, Pembrokeshire. The features are strongly characterized in the regular *pointed* arch, the label, the Tudor arms with an inscription—BENEDICTUS DOMINUS IN DONIS SUIS.

Y. A niche in Bishop Vaughan's chapel at Saint David's.

Z. Part of a rood-loft in St. Patrishew's chapel near Crickhowel, Brecknockshire. The infinity of enrichments peculiar to this class is most curiously displayed; among which is the *flat* arch, shewing the visible decline and near extinction of that sublime feature, *the regular triangular pointed arch*.

Thus have we endeavoured to trace the progress of the *pointed arch*, and to point out the various beauties and particularities attached to it; and though our illustrative materials have not been equally full in every class, they have been sufficient, we hope, to prove in a satisfactory manner, “*That the pointed style of architecture was no imported science, but English, ancient English architecture.*”

Amongst the most perfect Saxon churches within our island, I may place the collegiate church of Southwell in Nottinghamshire, the churches of Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, and of Rumsey in Hampshire, all of which afford many interesting specimens of this style of architecture; but it would be too tedious to enumerate the many examples of rich Saxon arches, portals, &c. which our island

would furnish to those, who wish to make them the object of their attention and inquiries.

There is much difficulty in ascertaining the distinguishing marks between the Saxon and Norman architecture; but each people made use of the *round arch*. From the well known settlement of the Normans in Glamorganshire, we may venture to attribute to them the construction of the churches at Margan and Ewenny.

Those of my readers, who wish for more satisfactory examples of each individual class, may find them in great perfection at the places which I shall here enumerate.

Class 1. Saxon at Southwell, Nottinghamshire.

Class 2. At the cathedral, Durham.

Class 3. At the cathedral of Wells in Somersetshire.

Class 4. At the cathedral of Salisbury,^m and in Westminster abbey.

Class 5. At Saint Stephen's chapel, Westminster.

Class 6. In the churches at Coventry, and at Guild Hall, London.

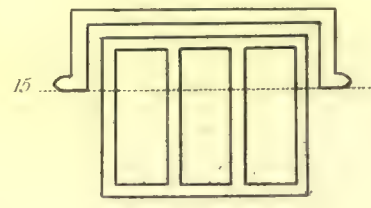
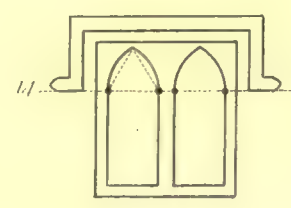
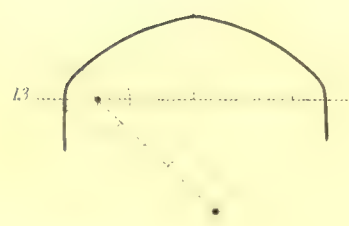
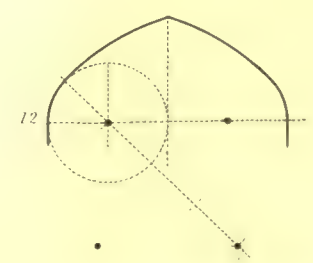
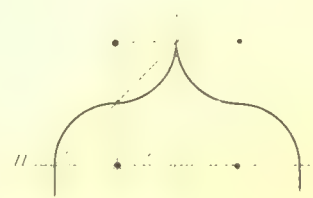
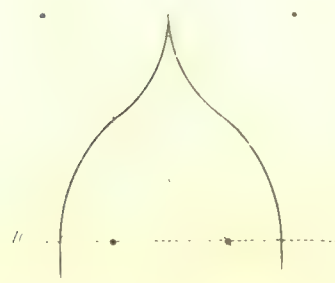
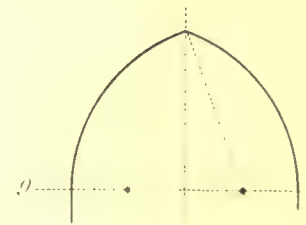
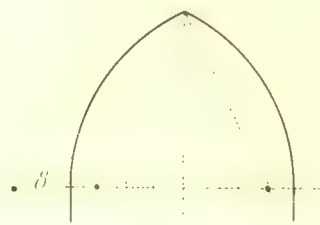
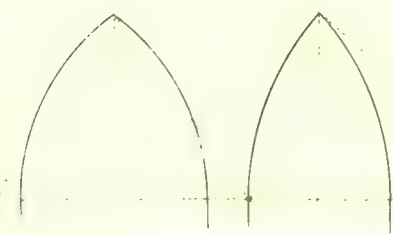
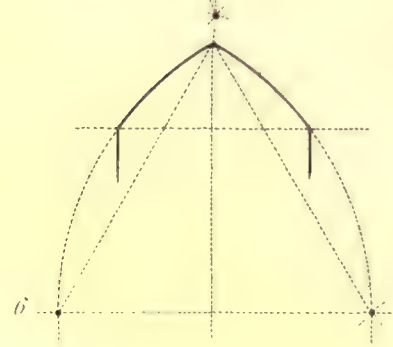
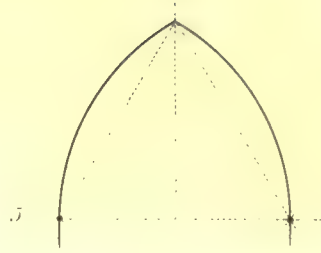
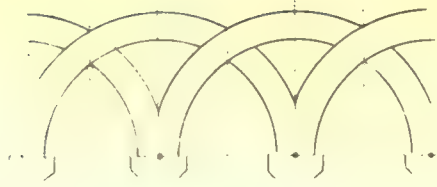
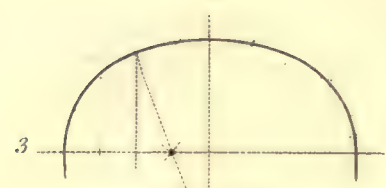
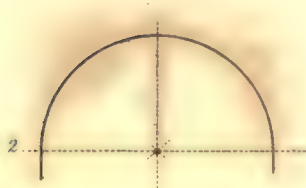
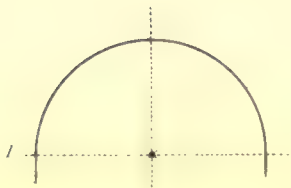
Class 7. King Henry the Seventh's chapel, Westminster.

Having, in my selection of examples to prove the rise and

^m The cathedral church of Salisbury is, of all others in England, the most remarkable for the uniformity of its architecture, which pervades the whole edifice; a peculiarity which is not elsewhere to be met with in so large a building of that æra. I wish I could add, that the alterations made a few years ago, either contributed to the *improvement* of the cathedral, or to the *professional skill* and *good taste* of the architect who planned and executed them.

This light, elegant, and uniform building, which the eye is never fatigued in viewing, was begun by Bishop Poore in the reign of King Henry the Third. Its construction occupied nearly the space of forty years; it was dedicated in the year 1258, and still exists as one of the noblest monuments of the magnificent piety and skilful architecture of the former ages.

progress of the *pointed arch*, confined myself hitherto to the principality of South Wales; and those examples not being quite so perfect and satisfactory as I could wish, to prove the gradual and decided progress which our British architecture made towards perfection, I have thought it necessary to add another Plate, No. VI. which I hope will prove an useful lesson to those who are desirous of knowing on what geometrical principles each particular arch was formed.



J. Carter del.

J. Basse sculp.

EXAMPLES

OF THE MOST REMARKABLE ARCHES THAT HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED INTO OUR ANCIENT BUILDINGS, FROM THE ROMAN, SAXON, AND NORMAN ÆRA; UNTIL THE REIGN OF KING HENRY VIII. SELECTED FROM EXISTING DOCUMENTS ADAPTED TO THE NATURE OF THIS ILLUSTRATION.

By the following series of arches, it is intended to shew, in a regular, plain, and decisive manner, the *rise and progress of the pointed arch*, which arch gave birth to that order of architecture, which so splendidly adorned the reigns of King Henry II. and III. and King Edward III. During the latter epoch, this order attained its highest state of perfection. In succeeding ages, it began visibly to decline in beauty; and at the close of the reign of King Henry VIII. the whole mode of workmanship (after undergoing various transitions, until it became the mere shadow of its former greatness) fell into total disuse and contempt.

PLATE VI.—FORMS OF ARCHES.^a

1. Arch in the Roman wall at Leicester. The dotted *horizontal* line shews the springing line, from which the arch takes its circular

^a By the annexed series of arches, it is intended to show the different variations of our British architecture from the earliest period; and to explain, by *lines* and *centres*, how each particular arch ought to be drawn.

direction. The *perpendicular* dotted line, intersecting the horizontal one, gives the *centre*,^o from which the arch is struck.

2. Arch in the nave of the Saxon part of Saint David's cathedral, Pembrokeshire. The method of striking this Saxon arch, is the same as described in the preceding number.

3. Arch in the Saxon part of the cathedral church at Llandaff, Glamorganshire.^p The horizontal and perpendicular lines being drawn, divide *half* of the opening into *four* parts; at the *second* part,^q raise another perpendicular line. The *third* part will give the *first centre*. Strike the sweep till it meets the *last* perpendicular: from thence draw a line through the *centre*, until it intersects the principal perpendicular line, where the *second centre* will be found, from which the remainder of the arch must be struck.

4. Intersecting arches in the arcade on the west part of the Saxon front of Malmsbury abbey, Wiltshire. By consulting the several horizontal and perpendicular lines, as well as the *centres* for striking the arches, which are thus made to interlace and intersect each other, we see in the most unequivocal and demonstrative manner, the *origin of the pointed arch*, which, being formed by that true geometrical figure, an equilateral triangle, is most perfect. After this formation of the *pointed arch*, we are naturally led to the adoption of its chaste and elegant sweep, divested of the semicircular direction.

^o All the *centres* are distinguished in the plans by a black spot.

^p This arch is situated at the back part of the altar, and from its form appears to have belonged to the *ancient* church previous to its reconstruction in 1120.

^q In the division of these parts, when I speak of *first, second, third, &c.* it must be observed that I measure the parts from the *left* to the *right*.

5. Arch in the choir of the cathedral church of Saint David's. Having shewn the original formation of the *pointed arch*, I now produce an example of it on a larger scale. Draw the horizontal and perpendicular lines, and then the equilateral triangle. The *centres* for striking the arch will be found at the *extremities* of the horizontal line of the triangle.

6. Arch at Goodrich castle, on the river Wye, Herefordshire. The same arch, but on a larger scale, as the preceding; where we see the equilateral proportion and the *pointed* figure repeated. A certain portion, or a segment of the *pointed* outline gives the arch in question; which was very frequently made use of, particularly in castle gateways, and where room was wanting to raise lofty headways. Many similar examples occur in Wales.

7. Two arches in the abbey church, Westminster. These arches run parallel with each other; their proportions are more lofty, or more acute than the *equilateral* proportion. Divide the horizontal line of the first arch into *four* parts, and by adding a *fifth*, you will find the *centre*.* Divide likewise the horizontal line of the *second* arch into *three* parts, and add *three* other parts on the outside of the outline of the arch, from the *extremity* of which you will find the *centre* from which the other arch must be struck.

8. Arch in Babelake church, Coventry. The proportion of the *pointed arch* is here departed from, and becomes more obtuse. Divide the horizontal line into *eight* parts, and at the *seventh* the *centre* will be found.

9. Arch at the west entrance of Westminster abbey; still more obtuse, and declining in beauty as well as in perfection of form.

* This *fifth* part constitutes the exact intermediate distance between the two arches.

Divide the horizontal line into *four* parts, and at the *third* you shall find the *centre*.

10. Arch of a window in the nave of the cathedral church at Llandaff. The *pointed arch* struck from the *centres*, as before described, did not alone prevail in our ancient works. Many attempts were made to rival its excellencies, by bringing forward *another* kind of *pointed arch*, of an inverted figure, which, although introduced in many buildings, soon resigned the competition, and left the original arch in general adoption. Divide the horizontal line into *four* parts, and from the *third* part which is the *first centre*, draw a line (having previously raised *one* of the divisions or parts *up* the principal perpendicular line,) through the said perpendicular, and continue it for the same length as the *inclined* line just drawn from the *first centre*, and the point will be ascertained how to strike the *first half* of the arch. In order to find the *second centre*, or the upper horizontal line, divide the *height* of the arch into *two* parts; then take one of those parts or *half* of the arch, and form a triangle with its point downwards, and at the left of the upper point the *centre* will be found.*

11. Arch to a monument in the cathedral church at Llandaff. The lofty appearance of the preceding mishapen arch had also, like the more perfect *pointed* one, its decline, as may be seen by this more obtuse outline. Divide the horizontal line into *four* parts; from the *first* part, which gives the *first centre*, raise a *second* perpendicular line of the same height as *one* of the parts or divi-

* I cannot be quite so explicit and intelligible as I could wish on the subject of this singular arch, but the lines and points on the plan of the arch will on a trial sufficiently elucidate the method of drawing it.

sions, which will produce the *first* sweep of the arch. To strike the *second* sweep of the arch, the perpendicular line must be carried up to the height of *another* part, which by reversing your compass will draw the *second centre*.

12. Arch in the abbey church, Bath. We now revert to our primæval *pointed* arch, though fallen indeed in altitude, beauty, and precision. To reduce the shape of this example before us to geometrical rules, we must have recourse to *two centres*; but though brought to the nicest degree of line, the sweep must ever appear lame and inadequate, when compared to the regular pointed shape. Divide the horizontal line into *four* parts, and from the *first* strike a line for an *eighth* part of the assistant circle; from whence draw a line through the *first centre*, and extend it for *two* divisions beyond the *outside* of the circle; the *extreme* point of which will give the *second centre*, and complete the sweep of the arch.

13. Arch to a monument in the abbey church of Westminster. Still lower are we fallen, and our art is approaching rapidly towards the hour of its extinction. Divide the horizontal line into *eight* parts, the *first* of which gives the *first centre*; the *second* will be found by extending the *inclined* line for *four* divisions beyond the *outside* of the circle.

14. Window in an abbey gateway, Maidstone, Kent. The last sad glimmerings of our expiring feature, the *pointed* arch, may be seen, *as mere insertions*, in square headed windows, bounded by an horizontal and perpendicular cornice, where the *triangular* proportion once more appears, bidding us a long and lasting farewell.

15. Window at Penshurst, Kent. The same kind of square headed window manifests itself, but devoid of any pointed forms.

Having frequently, during my various journeys through England and Wales, had occasion to see and lament the misapplication, and I may add, prostitution of the pointed arch, both in the public and private buildings of our realm, I have been induced to investigate the subject attentively, and to enquire by what means this order of architecture originated, and upon what principles it was formed. By the assistance of Mr. John Carter, whose knowledge of each particular relating to our ancient architecture stands unrivalled, and whose laudable and unremitting zeal for the preservation of our architectural relics from the *Gothic* hand of *innovation* stands unequalled, I am much indebted for the examples here engraved, as well as for their explanation and illustration; and I hope that the delineation of each arch will prove so distinct as to enable *every* lover of British architecture, whether architect, artist,[†] or amateur, to ascertain on what geometrical principles each arch is formed.

[†] Amongst the numerous and varied subjects which nature has adapted to the pencil of the artist, few perhaps have such powerful attractions as the monastic buildings of our island. Their stately ruins and secluded situation furnish to the landscape artist the most interesting subjects; it is therefore highly necessary that *he* should know on what principles, and in what manner their architecture was formed; for as the æra of their construction can in a great measure be ascertained by the forms of the windows, doors, arches, &c. too much care cannot be taken in the *exact delineation* of each particular.

LIST OF BOOKS RELATING TO WALES.

IN tracing the early history of any country, and particularly that of Wales, where the Saints and Martyrs made so conspicuous a figure, and gave their names to so many churches ; much local and historical information may be gained by consulting the works that relate to them.

1. *Nova Legenda Angliæ.* Printed by Wynken de Worde, A. D. 1516.

This book is commonly called “ Capgrave’s Lives of the Saints,” and is exceedingly scarce.

2. *Britannia Sancta.*

In two parts, quarto. Printed by Thomas Meighan, 1745.

3. *Lives of the Saints, Fathers, Martyrs, &c.* by Butler, 12 vol. 8vo. Dublin, 1779.

4. *Cressy’s Church History*, 2 vol. folio, 1668.

A book full of information respecting the British history.

We must next have recourse to the old English historians, such as Matthew of Westminster, Henry Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, Bede, Nennius, and many others, who recorded the early annals of the British history. We shall then

proceed to those authors who have made Wales more particularly the object of their writings, and at the head of these I shall place

4. Giraldus Cambrensis Itinerarium Cambriæ, et Cambriæ Descriptio, 12mo. 1585.

Reprinted by Camden in folio, 1602.

Reprinted with several additions in 4to. by William Bulmer, London, 1806, for William Miller, Albemarle Street.

5. Wotton Leges Wallicæ, fol. 1730.

6. H. Lhuyd Britannicæ Descriptionis Fragmentum, 12mo. 1572.
Reprinted in 4to. 1731.

A translation of this work into English may be seen at the end of

7. Lewis's History of Britain, fol. 1729.

8. Historiæ Britannicæ Defensio, auctore Johanne Price, 4to. Londini, 1573.

9. Historie of Cambria, by Dr. Powel, black letter, 4to. 1584.

10. Wynne's History of Wales, 8vo. 1697.

Reprinted in 8vo. 1774.*

11. Churchyard's Worthiness of Wales, 8vo. 1587.

Reprinted in 1776.

Full of curious matter.

12. Enderbie Cambria triumphans. fol. 1661.

A very scarce and dear book, but containing less interesting matter than would be expected from a volume of such a size.

* These two editions are exceedingly incorrect, and by no means correspond with the old edition, which contains much more original and authentic matter than the two later editions. A *new* edition of the *first* work, compared and corrected by the Welsh Chronicles lately printed in the Myvyrian Archaiology, is a great literary *desideratum*, and would become doubly valuable, if the names of the castles, places, and persons, were explained by some intelligent Cambrian.

13. *British Antiquities revived* by Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, 4to. 1662.
A very scarce little book.
14. *Dodridge's Historical Account of the Principality of Wales*, 8vo. second edition, 1714.
15. *Owen's History of the ancient Britons*, 8vo. 1743.
16. *Owen's British Remains*, 8vo. 1777.
17. *Whitaker's History of the Britons asserted*, 8vo. 1772.
18. *Robert's early History of the Britons*, 8vo. 1803.
19. *Vindication of the ancient British Poems*, by Sharon Turner, 8vo. 1804.
20. *Jones's Musical Relics of the Welsh Bards*, fol. 1794.
21. *Warrington's History of Wales*, 2 vols. 4to. 1786.
Another edition in 2 vols. 8vo.
22. *History of the Welsh Cathedrals*, viz. Llandaff, St. David's, St. Asaph, and Bangor, by Browne Willis, in 4 vols. 8vo.
23. *Survey of Saint Asaph*, enlarged from the work of B. Willis, by E. Edwards, 2 vols. 8vo. 1801.
24. *Rowland's Mona antiqua*, 4to. 1766.
25. *History of Anglesey, with Memoirs of Owen Glendwr*, 4to. 1775.
26. *History of the Gwedir family*, by Sir John Wynne, 12mo 1770.
27. *Yorke's Royal Tribes of Wales*, 4to. 1799.
28. *The Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hen* translated by William Owen, 8vo, 1792.
29. *Poems by Edward Williams*, 2 vols. 12mo. 1794.
30. *Wallography, or the Briton described*, by W. R. 12mo. 1682.

31. The History of Wales by R. B. 12mo. 1695.
32. An Essay on the Mines of Sir Carbery Price in Cardiganshire, by W. Waller, second edition, 12mo. 1698.
33. A Collection of Welsh Travels and Memoirs of Wales, by I. T. 8vo. 1738.
34. A geographical, historical, and religious Account of the Parish of Aberystwith, in Monmouthshire, by Edward Jones, 8vo. 1779.
35. Memoirs of Monmouthshire, 12mo. 1708.
36. Williams's History of Monmouthshire, 4to. 1796.
37. Coxe's historical Tour in Monmouthshire, 2 vols. 4to. 1801.
38. A Picture of Monmouthshire, 1 vol. 8vo. extracted from the larger work of Mr. Coxe.
39. History of Brecknockshire, by Theophilus Jones, volume the first, 4to, 1805.
40. Manby's History of St. David's, 8vo. 1801.
41. A Sketch of the History of Caernarvonshire, 12mo. 1792.
42. Traveller's Companion from London (through Wales) to Holyhead, 12mo. 1796.
43. A Collection of Welsh Tours, 12mo. 1797.
44. Letters from Snowdon, 8vo. 1770.
45. An Account of some of the most romantic Parts of North Wales, 12mo. 1777.
46. William's Observations on the Snowdon Mountains, 8vo. 1802.
47. The Cambrian Register for 1795 and 1796, 2 vols. 8vo.
48. The Cambrian Directory, 8vo. 1800.
49. Cambrian Itinerary, 8vo. 1801.
50. Cambrian Biography, 12mo. 1803.

51. Buck's View of Antiquities in Wales, fol.

52. Grose's Antiquities of Wales, fol.

53. Paul Sandby's Views in Wales.

I now come to a class of books, which, from the *number* of their volumes, *ought* to contain every information, both local and historical, that the reader could expect or desire; but, (excepting the *first*,) each traveller seems to have *followed* the other in the same old beaten path, instead of seeking new beauties and new matter.

TOURS.

54. Pennant's Tour through North Wales, 2 vols. 4to. 1784.

55. Pennant's History of Whiteford and Holywell, Flintshire, 4to 1796.

56. A Gentleman's Tour through Wales, 12mo. 1774. It is singular that no *previous* attempt should have been made to describe a country so highly interesting. This little tour grew into a large quarto volume in the year 1781, when the author, Mr. Wyndham, put his name to the publication. Though the *first* of the tours through Wales, I question if it be not *still* the *best*. With a few additions, it would undoubtedly rank next to Pennant.

57. Wyndham's Tour through Wales, 4to. 1781.

58. Tour through the South of England and Wales, 8vo. 1793.

59. Aikin's Tour through North Wales, 8vo. 1797.

60. Warner's Walk through Wales, 8vo. 1798.

61. Warner's second Walk, 8vo. 1799.

62. Skrine's Tour through Wales, 8vo. 1798.

63. Bingley's Tour in North Wales, 2 vols. 8vo. 1800.
64. Evans's Tour in North Wales, 8vo. 1800.
65. Manby's Tour in South Wales, 8vo. 1802.
66. Lipscombe's Tour in South Wales, 8vo. 1802.
67. Barber's Tour through South Wales, 8vo. 1803.
68. Hutton's Remarks on North Wales, 8vo. 1803.
69. Evans's Tour in South Wales, 8vo. 1804.
70. Malkin's Scenery of South Wales, 4to. 1804
71. Donovan's Tour through South Wales, 2 vols. 8vo. 1805
72. Tour through part of South Wales by a pedestrian traveller,
4to. 1797.
73. Myvyrian Archaiology, Vol. I. and II. 8vo. 1801.

These are all the books concerning Wales, that have fallen under my observation, but doubtless there are others with which I am unacquainted. There are many detached accounts relating to Wales, in the works of Buck, Grose, and the *Archaologia*, *Topographer*, *Antiquarian Repertory*, &c. &c. &c.; but the scenery of Wales, with its military and monastic antiquities, have hitherto been very imperfectly illustrated. The publication most likely, not only to preserve the early and authentic records of the British history from oblivion, but to throw an important light on the history of Cambria, is the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, of which two volumes have already been printed in Welsh. The *first* contains the poetry of the Welsh Bards. The *second* a variety of interesting historical matter: viz. 1. Triads; 2. Genealogy of the British Saints; 3. Chronicle of the Kings of Britain; 4. Chronicle of the Princes; 5. Chronicle of the Saxons;

6. Life of Gruffydh ap Cynan, from 1079 to 1137; 7. Divisions of Wales; 8. Parishes of Wales. The *third* volume is now nearly completed under the direction of Mr. William Owen: its contents will be chiefly, ethical triads and proverbs, triads of law, and the principles of government of the ancient Britons; a most interesting collection. About a fifth part of the volume will contain ancient music copied in an obsolete notation. It is sincerely to be wished that some learned Cambrian would undertake the translation of the chronicles and historical part of these collections; for, excepting the first edition of the History of Wales, we have no tolerably authentic account of that country. Justice to a most worthy character demands that I should say something more respecting this valuable publication, which has originated solely from Mr. Owen Jones, who, for many years, has not only made the study of Welsh literature his recreation from the cares of an extensive trade, but has encouraged it in others, who had merits, but whose means were confined, by administering to their wants in the most liberal manner. His expenses in collecting materials, and for the publication of the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, have been very heavy; for in the course of the last four years, he has procured transcripts of all the works of the poets from about the year 1300 to the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, wherein the works of each writer are separately classed. This collection amounts to sixty quarto volumes of about 450 pages each, and is not yet completed. The name of *Myvyrian* was affixed to this work out of compliment to Mr. Jones, who was born at Tyddyn Tydyr, in the parish of Llanvihangel *Glyn y Myvyr*, near Ceryg y Drudion, in Denbighshire. *Glyn y Myvyr* in Welsh signifies the *Vale of Contemplation*.

I cannot conclude without expressing a wish, that Mr. Jones's friends would decorate some succeeding volume of the *Archaiology* with the portrait of a character so truly deserving the thanks and commendation of the literary world.

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CORRECTIONS.

- Page 25, last line, erase the words of *Rhys*.
32, line 22, for *dstroyed*, read *destroyed*.
64, — 1, omit the *first* word *old*.
67, — 1, for *of*, read *or*.
145, — 20, omit the *second* word *fit*.
156, — 16, for *same King*, read *King Henry*.
167, — 7, for *twenieth*, read *twentieth*.
180, — 18, for *whatsover*, read *whatsoever*.
198, — 4, omit the first word *a*.
247, — 20, for *wordly*, read *worldly*.
258, — 21, for *Reinwicc*, read *Reinwc*.
317, — 2, insert the word *it*, between *made* and *the*.
332, — 18, for *Qam*, read *Quam*.
337, — 14, for *wordly*, read *worldly*.
352, Annotations, for *celt fas*, read *cell fast*.
365, line 8, for *has*, read *have*.
369, — 23, for *Skiri*, read *Skirid*.
382, — 25, for *of*, read *to*.
397, last line, for *Caerlestyn*, read *Caer Festyn*.
415, line 3, for *interesting*, read *intersecting*.

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v.2

Giraldus Cambre
The itinerar
Archbishop Bal
Wales

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